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ABSTRACT

This report examines what is happening in South Africa's schools as they are desegregated. It describes the attitudes of the main stakeholders, and provides an examination of the theoretical concerns and other debates surrounding issues such as multiculturalism and anti-racism. A context for possible approaches to resolving the problems associated with desegregation is also provided. Through interviews with principals, teachers, learners, and parents from primary and secondary schools in KwaZulu-Natal, the paper charts the processes of racial integration. It looks at the history of, and reasons for, school desegregation in South Africa; ascertains and analyzes patterns of access and exclusion in the desegregating schools to determine factors influencing access and exclusion; profiles the extent and patterns of integration in schools and identifies the beneficiaries; ascertains and analyzes the nature and magnitude of the problems associated with integration of schools in so far as parents, learners, teachers, and management are concerned; identifies measures that have been introduced to cope with the problems and assesses their degree of success; and proposes policy options on how racial integration of schools can be enhanced and expedited in order to build a truly nonracial, nonsexist, and democratic system of education. (Contains approximately 165 references. Appendices cite the methodology and list the schools researched.) (RJM)

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RACIAL INTEGRATION OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN SOUTH AFRICA

A Study Of Practices, Attitudes And Trends

By Jordan Naidoo

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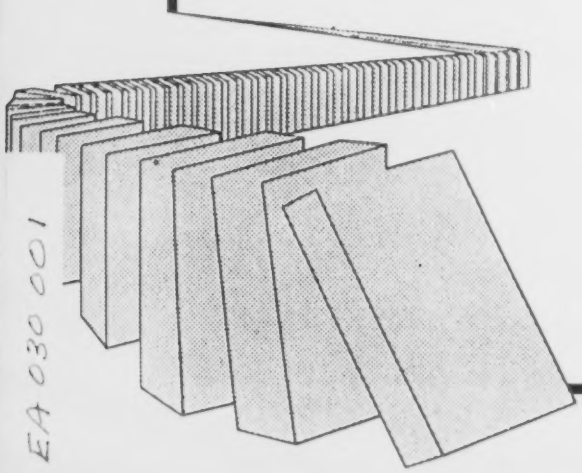

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Education Policy Unit
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December 1996

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

DET:	Department of Education and Training (formerly responsible for schools for Africans in the non-homeland areas)
HoD:	House of Delegate (formerly responsible for schools for Indians)
HoR:	House of Representatives (formerly responsible for schools for Coloureds)
KDEC:	KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture (formerly responsible for schools for Africans in the KwaZulu homeland areas)
MEC:	Member of the Executive Committee (of the Provincial Government)
NED:	Natal Education Department (formerly responsible for House of Assembly schools for whites)
PTSA:	Parent Teacher Student Association

PREFACE

To many people outside South Africa the desegration of schooling is seen as synonymous with the end of apartheid education. This is obviously not so - overcoming the inequities of apartheid requires a great deal more than desegration. Nonetheless, there is something deeply symbolic attached to the image of children of different race groups going to school together in what was the heartland of racism. This is possibly the reason for the enormous amount of media publicity - both in South Africa and abroad - attracted by the desegration process and particularly where the democratic government has had to enforce it in the face of resistance by bigots.

Despite the publicity and the interest generated by the desegration process, little research has been done on desesgregation in South Africa thus far. In this report, Jordan Naidoo breaks new ground in his examination of what is actually taking place in schools and what the attitudes of the main stakeholders are. His examination of the theoretical and other debates around issues such as multiculturalism and anti-racism give us a context within which both the process and possible approaches to resolving the problems associated with it can be understood. His thought-provoking conclusions make a useful contribution to charting a way forward.

Racial integration in schools has been a one way process, with students from formerly oppressed racial groups seeking (and gaining) admission to schools which were previously reserved for those who were privileged or at least less oppressed. Thus African students have sought places in formerly white, coloured and Indian schools, and coloured and Indian students have moved to formerly white schools. What attracted them (or their parents) to these schools was not, primarily, the opportunity to attend a racially integrated school, but the superior learning conditions and resources, generally better qualified teachers and a schooling system which had not been devastated by the traumas that had seriously curtailed learning in many schools in the African townships.

What this has meant is that students from disadvantaged backgrounds have had to adapt themselves to the norms and cultures of schools in advantaged communities. Thus, the relatively privileged communities have, to a large extent, been 'in control' of the process. However, this control has often taken place in circumstances where the 'controllers' were totally unprepared for the task: they had little idea of what problems, if any, to expect; and when problems were identified, they were ill-equipped to deal with them. Some - depending on their attitudes and their skills- have learned to cope better than others. For the students and parents from previously excluded groups, while their new schools have opened up advantages and benefits to them, at the same time, they have been a source of problems and difficulties.

Jordan Naidoo's report shows the complexity of the existing situation, while at the same time making us aware that it is still unfolding, and that the policies and actions by all concerned - school governors, principals, teachers, parents and education departments - will have an impact on the way schools continue to function.

John Pampallis
Director, Centre for Education Policy Development, Evaluation and Management

1. INTRODUCTION

The process of racial integration in schools up to now constitutes only the first few steps towards the total transformation of the segregated system inherited from apartheid. Although the formal barriers to discriminatory admission have been removed, the racial values and practices of many communities still remain and are reflected in the various schools. The way in which schools adapt to increased integration in the future is therefore critical for the implementation of non-racialism.

The responses of schools to the present situation have been varied. Some schools have embraced the changes and are experimenting with new approaches and curricula which challenge old apartheid educational practices. For example, Laërskool Venterpos, a school on the West Rand, Gauteng, is experimenting with parallel-medium and dual-medium teaching. Some classes are in English only, some in Afrikaans only and some are dual-medium. There has been successful integration of learners in a number of schools but according to Mary Metcalfe, Gauteng MEC for Education, racial integration in schools is in its honeymoon phase and much of the real work in eroding stereotypical racial attitudes must still take place (Mail & Guardian, 8/3/96).

Other schools tried to resist the process of integration. For example, Christiana, a small town in the North West Province which had one primary and one secondary school with declining enrolment figures, combined the two in anticipation of the requirement to desegregate. The primary school was taken over by the Conservative Party, which planned to turn it into a retirement village for elderly white people. However, at the beginning of 1995, learners from the township marched on the school and demanded that it be re-opened as a school. It is now being used as a school for black children but the white principal has been isolated by the local white community (Chisholm, 1995). A similar situation developed in Delmas/Sundra in Mpumulanga and at Trompsburg in the Free State, to name just two others (Citizen, 2/3/96).[1]

Other discriminatory actions have been reported. In Mpumalanga, the Ben Viljoen Hoërskool, an Afrikaans-medium high school in the town of Groblersdal, initially refused to allow black learners to wear the school's uniform and placed black learners and white learners in separate classrooms (Star, 8/3/96). At Hoërskool Vryburg in the North West Province, black learners were put into the school hall and left there for three weeks without receiving tuition. Of the 100 black learners who registered at the school at the beginning of 1996, only eight now remain (Business Day 7/3/96).

In all of these cases the provincial education departments concerned challenged the actions of individual schools and communities, who were forced to accept open and non-discriminatory educational provision as laid down by the South African Constitution. The Potgietersrus Laerskool incident, which aroused much media attention during the first quarter of 1996 and led the Education Department of the Northern Province to challenge the school's governing body in court about its refusal

[1] The process of school integration was widely reported on in various newspapers during the first quarter of 1996.

to admit black learners, highlights the severity of the problems related to school integration.

The challenges facing the national and provincial education departments, local communities and individual schools to ensure that schools are truly integrated will remain for some time. This report covers the process of integration in the newly desegregating schools in KwaZulu-Natal, in particular those that were previously administered by the ex-House of Delegates (so-called 'Indian' schools) and ex-Natal Education Department (so-called 'white' schools).

A micro-political approach is adopted in analysing the process of change at these schools. It focuses on the relations between and influence of different groups of people (principals, teachers, learners and parents) within the school. At the same time it analyses the relation between power at the macro level (national and provincial education policy) and the micro level (school change and management). It attempts to show how various factors, some specific to the school, some concerning the local community, some relating to national occurrences and some defined by legislation, converge to affect the racial integration of schools.

Need for the Research

Once again, at the beginning of the 1996 school year, the opening of white, Indian and coloured schools to black children was a major issue in urban and rural areas countrywide, partly as a result of the abolition of apartheid in education. While a number of schools opened their doors unconditionally in line with national education policy as laid down by the Constitution and the White Papers, in many schools, access for black children was limited through admissions policies determined by the governing bodies of these schools, language and mathematics competency tests, increasing fees and, in some cases, by militant action on the part of right-wing, conservative parents. In some areas there was an increase in reports of racial incidents in the desegregating schools while in many others there were reports of positive integration. The wide range of experiences in terms of racial integration of public schools made it imperative to conduct a detailed study of the process.

Moreover, in addressing issues of educational transformation, the reconstituted provincial education departments have done little as yet to prepare teachers, school administrators and other stakeholders to tackle the complex dynamics involved in the racial integration of schools. Research of this nature can help to inform provincial initiatives in developing relevant policies and strategies at different levels.

With the continued demand of black learners to attend schools from which they were previously barred, the number of these learners at such schools will continue to increase and the process of integration is likely to continue to be accompanied by difficulties and challenges of various kinds, both social and academic, as more and more learners from differing academic and cultural backgrounds come together. This makes it crucial that studies of this nature are undertaken in order to understand the process of integration and to suggest strategies to facilitate the process and minimise

problems, especially for greatly disadvantaged learners who are coming into these new environments.

Significance of the Research

The process of integration has aroused very emotional responses. A study of this kind is especially vital to show that objections to integration are often not based on sound educational judgements. Despite its focus on individual schools in KwaZulu-Natal, this study will throw some light on the integration process and its consequences for the school system as a whole, not only in this province but nationally.

In the context of the recently desegregating schools the question of access and exclusion has become a salient issue because any form of discrimination is outlawed by the national constitution. It is through research of this kind that marks of discrimination, both of an overt or covert nature, can be identified and exposed. Such research may enable educational practitioners, learners, parents and policy makers to identify and remedy discriminatory practices wherever they exist in schools.

By studying the experiences of schools which have desegregated to one degree or another, it should be possible to anticipate some of the difficulties which will be faced in many schools over the next few years and to suggest certain strategies to cope with problems. A series of micro studies are necessary to feed into the policy formulation process at institutional, regional, provincial and national level. Studies dealing with the process of racial integration are especially significant in the context of the current transformation of the curriculum. This study highlights the fact that curriculum changes being suggested at a macro-level will be to no avail in addressing issues of equity if schools do not engage in certain related changes at the micro or institutional level.

Aims of the Research

Through interviews with principals, teachers, learners and parents from primary and secondary schools in KwaZulu-Natal, the main aim of the study is to chart the processes of the racial integration of public schools in South Africa. In describing and evaluating issues relating to racial integration in public schools, this study provides an opportunity for participants in the process to evaluate it and consider approaches, strategies, processes, and decision-making that will make a practical contribution towards an effective and relevant educational policy in their particular schools.

Arising from this all-embracing aim are the following, more specific aims, which underpin the investigation:

1. To make a *status quo* assessment of schools in South Africa with particular reference to KwaZulu-Natal;
2. To investigate the history of, and the reasons for, school desegregation in South Africa;

3. To ascertain and analyse patterns of access and exclusion in the desegregating schools and to determine factors influencing such access or exclusion;
4. To study the extent and patterns of integration in schools and identify the beneficiaries;
5. To ascertain and analyse the nature and magnitude of the problems associated with integration of schools in so far as parents, learners, teachers and management are concerned;
6. To identify measures that have been introduced to cope with the problems and to assess their degree of success;
7. To propose policy options on how racial integration of schools can be enhanced and expedited in order to help build a truly non-racial, non-sexist and democratic system of education and training.

Scope of the Investigation

This investigation focused on the process of school integration in primary and secondary schools, both in the larger metropolitan areas and in smaller urban centres across KwaZulu-Natal. The schools serve a range of learners and local communities, with diverse ethnic and socio-economic class backgrounds. The study was restricted to ex-Natal Education Department (ex-NED) and ex-House of Delegate (ex-HoD) schools because integration is occurring primarily at these schools. There are hardly any ex-House of Representative (ex-HoR or so-called 'coloured') schools in KwaZulu-Natal and integration in them has been minimal. In the ex-Department of Education and Training (ex-DET) and ex-KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture (ex-KZDEC) schools, integration has been virtually non-existent. [2]

The investigation examines the process of integration from the perspective of parents, learners, teachers and principals, with a focus on the day-to-day changes occurring at these schools. It attempts to highlight attitudes and actions of these stakeholders that may influence the process of integration in some way. In so doing, it emphasises that while structural desegregation is a one-off event, integration is an on-going process.

Factors that facilitated or limited the process of integration were of particular interest. At the same time there was an attempt to determine whether patterns in such factors existed in the different schools. The study focused on similarities and differences in the process, in the ex-HoD and ex-NED schools, between primary and secondary schools, between English and Afrikaans medium schools and between schools in different areas.

[2] The terms 'African,' 'coloured,' 'Indian' and 'white' are used in the text. These do not refer to a biological concept of race but to the political system of racial classification that underpinned apartheid education and the school populations discussed in the study. By using these terms and not combining different ethnic groups under crude general headings this study avoids losing sight of important differences in opportunity and experience.

2. LITERATURE REVIEWS

The complexities of the process of integration necessitated a thorough review of literature concerning the racial integration of schools both internationally and locally. This report provides a summary of the findings.[3]

2.1. International Literature

The review of the international literature covered five countries, the United Kingdom (UK), United States of America (USA), Australia, Zimbabwe and Namibia. It illustrates that the cultural diversity and ethnic pluralism of different societies clearly affects education and presents many challenges for learners, teachers, administrators and policy makers. While there are vast differences in the process of integration amongst these countries there are also distinctive similarities. In all cases, it was clear that although integration is a variable process accompanied by a number of problems, it is an imperative that cannot be postponed on either practical or moral grounds.

The context of racial desegregation and the integration of schooling, as well as each country's policy on dealing with diversity in relation to education differs. For example, the question of whether to integrate state schools in the UK has never been contested. As black and other immigrants moved to the UK in the post-World War II period, it was simply assumed that their children would attend the same schools as British children. What did become an issue was the question of how this integration should happen. In the USA, on the other hand, the integration of schools took place against the background of an intense struggle by African-Americans to assert their rights to common citizenship and equality. Most US public schools were racially segregated until the 1954 landmark decision of the Supreme Court in Brown v Board of Education and the actual implementation of school integration was not without considerable contestation and controversy.

In Australia, initially, there was an attempt to follow an assimilationist policy with the indigenous population (Aborigines) and immigrant minorities who were subject to the dominant Anglo-Saxon settlers. In the 1970s, the first initiatives in what was to evolve as a broadly-accepted public policy of multiculturalism were started. From the initial provision of services to enhance equality of opportunity in education for the new arrivals, the Australian government went on to initiate cultural awareness programmes and mother-tongue teaching programmes to bolster the identity of young children from immigrant backgrounds. Significant and concerted efforts are now being made to restore pride in Aborigine traditional life and to maintain indigenous languages. Today multicultural education, which stresses cultural tolerance and respect for different

[3] For a more comprehensive account of the international review See Rankin, D. (1996) The Racial Integration of Schools: A review of literature on the experiences of five countries. (Unpublished). For the local review see Naidoo, J.P. (1996) Racial integration of schools: a review of the experience in South Africa. EPU Working Paper No. 8.

backgrounds, is built around adherence to certain core elements of Australian identity (Mills, 1982).

Not only do the Zimbabwean and Namibian experiences have more aspects in common, but they are also closer to the South African experience. Integration took place in the context of bitter and protracted struggles to consolidate national independence and to overcome the scourge of racism. The majority of the population had been denied educational opportunities by previous minority white governments and were determined to regain these opportunities. Also, the majority were assimilated into schools previously dominated by the minority and their cultural traditions and language. Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa share many cultural similarities but more importantly, in all three countries, it is the majority that experienced marginalisation and alienation in the education system in the past. Hence, the experiences of Zimbabwe and Namibia remain fundamentally relevant to South Africa.

There has been a perennial search for solutions to the problems of educating children in pluralist societies based on different ideologies. Solutions based on assimilation, melting pot, integration, cultural mosaic, biculturalism and multiculturalism have influenced educational planning, policy-making and the curriculum at different points over the years (Bullivant, 1986:33).

A significant lesson from the international experience is that school desegregation and integration are shrouded in myths that may find anecdotal support but are generally not consistent with available evidence. Research on the international experiences is useful to South African researchers, policy-makers and educational practitioners as it can provide guidance that may increase the benefits and minimise the costs of desegregation and integration of schools. Despite the many differences, the experiences in all of these countries can inform the process in South Africa with a view to developing alternative paradigms of school integration.

2.2. Local Review

The review of the experience in South Africa focused on the history of school integration and provides the background to how the present situation evolved.

Historically, in South Africa there has been a separation of educational provision by race. Patterns of racialism and separation in education can be traced back nearly three hundred years, although segregation was more rigidly enforced after 1948 when the National Party came to power (Christie, 1985). In the 1970s however, a limited number of black learners were admitted to previously all-white private schools. Limited desegregation, which began in state schools in 1984, was given a boost with the introduction of the Clase Models in 1990 [4].

[4] The Clase Models formed the basis of a new admission policy introduced by Minister Piet Clase on September 10, 1990 which gave white parent communities the choice of retaining the *status quo* at their schools or adopting one of three models which gave them control over admissions. These models, A, B and C, allowed for limited desesgregation of public schools. An additional model, model D, was introduced in 1991.

From the beginning of 1991, the National Party government began to allow a few black (i.e. African, Indian and coloured) learners to attend white state schools under certain stringent conditions. At about the same time, Indian and coloured schools began submitting to pressure to admit African learners. However, unrestricted formal desegregation by decree, if not fully in practice, was only instituted in 1995.

By 1993 there were 60 000 black learners at Model C schools and about 40 000 African or coloured learners at Indian schools under the ex-HoD (SAIRR, 1994:697). By the end of 1995 this figure had risen to approximately 200 000. At present the national average of African learners at formerly white or Indian schools does not exceed 15-20%. However, with the Education White Papers of 1995 and 1996 and the Schools Bill of 1996, the policy of open or integrated schooling was affirmed, not only as a constitutional guarantee of a non-discriminatory system of education, but also as a policy measure designed to ensure enhanced access of children to all schools.

While the former white, Indian and coloured schools number almost 5 000, they make up only 20% of the total number of schools. However, they do comprise an important segment of the school system in South Africa in that they tend to be the best equipped schools and to have the best-qualified staff (although there are obviously exceptions to this). Their experiences are therefore of some importance to the education offered in the South African schooling system as a whole. In contrast, African public schools remain uniracial because of the existing demographics of the country and the crises besetting these schools. As a result, it is highly unlikely that full integration will occur in the entire South African system in the immediate future.

It is vitally important not only to examine the conditions in the schools that have integrated but to trace events and policies that have contributed to the present situation. During the process of school desegregation, different measures were used at local, regional and national levels to limit or facilitate integration. Thus, a review of the literature is indispensable and invaluable.

3. THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The introduction (chapter 1) and the literature review (chapter 2) provide a brief history of racial desegregation and integration of schools in South Africa. However, it is very general and does not refer to the specific theoretical and conceptual issues relating to the process. Theorising is necessary to enable us to grasp, understand and explain - to produce a more adequate knowledge of the historical world and its processes and thereby to inform our practice so that we may transform it (Troyna and Hatcher, 1992: 189). Such conceptual and theoretical issues are clarified in this section of the report. Some issues considered are:

- Change and education;
- Distinguishing between integration and desegregation;
- Approaches to integration;
- Racism and stereotyping in education; and,
- Race and identity in the South African context.

3.1. Change and Education

In many circles, educational change is regarded as suspect, something unproved and unusual, even dangerous. It is alleged that to change education amounts to changing the way parents bring up their children. The vastness of the subject and the diversity of national cultures precludes any possibility of making blueprints or formulating laws describing how educational changes come about and how we can accelerate change (Huberman, 1973:1). Bearing in mind this caveat, we must look closely at the elements aiding or hindering new developments and make suggestions to facilitate the process.

This is particularly relevant in the context of transforming an education system that is still saddled with the legacies of apartheid in many respects. In certain schools change has encouraged and reinforced what is already in operation, whereas in others it has encountered resistance. The critical factor is not the nature of the change but rather individuals' concepts of the changes they personally will have to make. With integration, teachers and administrators have been asked to interact differently with each other and with learners; hence the immediate emphasis has been on changing attitudes and then on changing practices and procedures. There has to be fundamental, substantive change, not merely an appearance of change.

The racial integration of public schools in South Africa is part of the broader transformation of education and society. This transformation can be seen at the national and provincial macro-level of policy, at the level of schools or at the level of the classroom. Due to the nature and scope of this study, as well as certain practical constraints, it was decided that this investigation would focus on the institutional i.e. school level. In keeping with this decision, 'a micro-political perspective' (Ball, 1981) was adopted.

The micro-political perspective views schools as arenas of struggle where individuals and groups use a variety of means to pursue their often conflicting interests. Change, whether internally generated or imposed from outside, brings about uncertainty in that the *status quo* is disturbed and new claims are made for a role in defining the ethos and direction of the school. According to Gillborn (1995:179), such a perspective recognises the importance of conflict as a normal feature of school organisation, piercing the calm, orderly and rational facade that often cloaks talk of the management of change. In the context of school integration, such a perspective entails a focus on interaction and attitudes as well as on actions. It implies an examination of the various influences on the policies adopted by the school and on attitudes and actions of administrators, teachers, learners and parents involved in this process of change.

3.2. Integration and Desegregation

In everyday parlance, integration and desegregation are generally equated. However, integration and desegregation are not necessarily synonymous processes. Rist (1979), in an appraisal of the desegregation of American schools, states that the racial cleavage reported time and again in those studies suggests that while learner populations may have been 'desegregated', they were not 'integrated'. Desegregation is a mechanical process which merely involves establishing the physical proximity of members of different groups in the same school. It implies nothing about the quality of the interracial contact. In the South African context it involves the 'opening' of racially exclusive schools to members of all racial and ethnic groups.

Integration, on the other hand, is a social process and a possible outcome of desegregation. Integration is not a single event or a one-time shift in school conditions but a series of activities, events and changes occurring over a long period of time. Integration requires fundamental changes in previous educational conditions as well as in personal attitudes and behaviour patterns. It requires major changes of deep-seated attitudes and behaviour patterns among learners and teachers of minority and majority groups and in the institutional patterns and arrangements of schools. In many ways they have to become truly 'new' schools for there to be effective integration (Smith, Downs and Lachman, 1973).

Integration is achieved only when positive intergroup contact has been fostered (Rist, 1979: 158). Integration then, is not just a matter of physical proximity among members of different groups in the same schools. It involves the interaction of learners in a multiracial learning environment, both in and outside the classroom, where learners are provided with equal status and equal opportunities. The current ethos of a school, the nature of the interaction and existing patterns and institutional features and policies of the school may limit or facilitate such integration. The study of the day-to-day realities of desegregated school settings increases our understanding of how those involved resist, adapt, support or ignore the realities of these changes.

3.3. Changing Approaches to School Integration: From Assimilation to Multiculturalism and Beyond

It is virtually impossible to find a society that is completely homogeneous culturally, ethnically and racially. This diversity or plurality has consequences for every area of social policy and has had a significant impact on education in a number of countries, ranging from policies based on denial of such diversity to increasing recognition and affirmation of such differences. The different approaches to education in multi-ethnic societies reflect a slow, evolutionary and often piecemeal character. The issues at the heart of the matter have been continually contested and reconstructed (Gilborn, 1990:143). In any analysis of these changing approaches one is bound to make use of certain crude labels. This may be true of assimilation, multicultural and anti-racist approaches but is unavoidable for the sake of order and conceptual clarity.

3.3.1. Assimilation

Initially, in both the United States of America (USA) (where the 'melting pot' theory was prominent) and in the United Kingdom (UK), policies which actively stressed the need to assimilate immigrant or ethnic minorities into the mainstream were promoted. [5] It was assumed that once they had mastered the English language, and dominant traditions and values, immigrants would be absorbed into the dominant white society with less conflict. Education was seen as the primary factor in helping them fit into the existing white society. In education, the assimilationist perspective led to an emphasis on teaching English as a second language and instilling middle-class values. A consequence of the assimilationist policy was that programmes where the ethnic minority child was seen as an educational problem became institutionalised.

According to Gilborn (1990:146), a number of spurious policy assumptions which are still relevant have emerged out of this assimilationist approach. The most critical ones are that:

- ethnic minority learners represent a threat to educational standards because a high concentration of these learners in a school will lower the performance of white learners; and,
- the host (white) society is culturally and racially superior.

The assimilationist approach attempts to make the foreign (minority) learner fit into the existing ethos of the school. This is often accompanied by what Signithia Fordham (1988) calls the ideology of racelessness where learners are expected to discard their ethnic affiliations. Minority groups may be forced to

[5] It must be pointed out that 'minority' is not used in the strict sense of the word. It does not refer to minority status in a purely numerical way but in terms of power relations. In the context of this study then, white South Africans may have been a numerical minority but they systematically exploited an African majority. However, in terms of power, Africans would be in the position of a minority. Also, in relation to the integration of the formerly segregated white and Indian schools, the recently admitted African students are a numerical minority in such schools.

deny their ethnic identity and heritage in order to participate more fully or to achieve success in the institution. There are powerful incentives to assimilate into the dominant culture as quickly as possible and have a chance of receiving its meritocratic rewards.

The learning programme of the school often tends to reinforce the culture of the dominant group while degrading other cultures. Banks (1981: 26) points out that the anglo-centric curriculum negatively affects the minority child because he or she may find the school culture alien, hostile and self-defeating. Assimilation is ultimately a matter of conforming to the majority values. The basic premise is that to succeed one must adopt the values, lifestyle and world view of the dominant group. As a result, the integration process within the school becomes one of instilling one perspective in all the learners regardless of their background.

The schools make no attempt to accommodate the differences of new learners entering the school. They have to conform to have any chance of success. No allowance is made for language or cultural differences. In effect, the basic aim of assimilationist educational policies and practices is the protection of the existing system. Even though South African education is experiencing integration of schools in a post-apartheid era, it is probable that policies and practices at school and classroom level are widely influenced by the assimilationist perspective and its underlying assumptions.[6] To some extent this study explores the notions of assimilation in the context of the racial integration of public schools in South Africa.

3.3.2 Multicultural Education

For pedagogical and other reasons, such as the multiple interpretations of ethnic identities, the assimilationist approach to education was soon recognised as inadequate. Consequently, to address many of the problems that were surfacing, the idea of multicultural education was put forward as a solution (Carrim, 1995).

Multiculturalism originated in the liberal pluralist approach to education and society and was a new curricular form that attempted to address black radical demands for the restructuring of school knowledge and pedagogical practices in the USA and the UK. While its critics accused it of being another means to assimilate minorities, its proponents viewed it as an emancipatory programme with regard to racial inequality in schools (McCarthy, 1988). Beginning with a rejection of the assimilationist and ethnocentric philosophies of the 1960s, many argued for a form of education with a pluralist orientation and a multi-ethnic perspective. The pluralist conception understands society as being constituted primarily of many discrete cultures.

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[6] See Karlsson, J., Pampallis, J. and Sithole S. (1996) Restructuring Educational Governance at Sub-National Levels in South Africa. One of the findings of this report was that many school representatives feared a drop in standards as a result of greater racial integration of schools.

In the UK, multicultural education developed out of the view that education should draw upon the experiences of the many cultures that make up its multiracial and multi-ethnic society. In the USA, multicultural education emerged in response to the ethnic revitalisation movement. Demands were made by specific ethnic groups for the inclusion of their cultures and histories in the curriculum and for educational equity of cultural and ethnic groups (Banks, 1981:32).

From the outset, there has been much controversy, confusion and contradiction surrounding debates about multicultural education. According to Modgil, Verma, Mallick and Modgil (1986:5), the very term 'multicultural education' is without an agreed definition and the implementation of the concept appears to depend largely upon the standpoints of individuals, whether they take an assimilationist, cultural pluralist or anti-racist approach. Nevertheless, in the last ten years multicultural education has gained considerable currency. At the same time it has aroused criticism in many quarters. Conservative critics see it as an attempt to politicise education in order to pander to minority demands, while for some radicals it is the familiar ideological device of perpetuating the reality of racist exploitation of ethnic minorities by pampering their cultural sensitivities (Parekh, 1986:19).

In the UK, it has been championed from one perspective as a benign, liberal education, capable of transforming racist practices. This view was presented by Bhiku Parekh thus:

> *Multicultural education is essentially an attempt to release a child from the ethnocentric straitjacket and to awaken him to the existence of other cultures, societies and ways of life and thought. It is intended to decondition the child as much as possible in order that he can go out into the world as free from biases and prejudices as possible and able and willing to explore its rich diversity. Multicultural education is therefore an education in freedom - freedom from inherited biases and narrow feelings and sentiments, as well as freedom to explore other cultures and perspectives and to make ones own choices in full awareness of available and practicable alternatives* (1986:26).

Similar idealistic conceptions of multicultural education have been presented in the South African context. Lemmer and Squelch (1993) argue that multicultural education is a sound approach based on pedagogical rather than political concerns, which can contribute to the development of equal educational opportunities. Dekker and Lemmer (1993 identify the main features of multicultural education as:

- *development of cultural awareness;*
- *recognition of cultural diversity;*
- *development of equity in education; and*

- *the transformation of the school environment in order to meet the needs of students from diverse cultural, linguistic and socio-economic backgrounds* (1993:34-36).

In a different vein, John Rex (1986) warns that in evaluating multicultural education, a critical, objective approach is needed to cut through the confusion, obfuscation and ideological loading that are its usual characteristics and to judge it by equality of opportunity rather than equality of outcomes. He argues that the multicultural debate should cover such issues as policies for the attainment of equality of opportunity, allocation of school places, medium of instruction, teaching of mother tongue, teaching of English as a second language, provision of courses accommodating minority (and in our case majority and disadvantaged) languages, culture and history, teaching to combat racism and modification of the curriculum as a consequence of such issues (1986:205).

Brandt (1986), on the other hand, associates multicultural education with cultural pluralism and criticises it for being premised on the notion of homogenous cultures in societies with shared interests. As an advocate of anti-racist education, he accuses multicultural education of depoliticising culture and naively suggesting that we can remove racism by merely promoting cultural exchange and understanding:

> *Multiculturalism is seen as the 'spoonful of sugar' which makes the medicine go down. But as is widely known, in scientific terms, not all elements mix and when they do the properties of one or both can be slightly or even drastically changed, if the elements are not 'sympathetic' to each other. Thus, the 'sugar' could so drastically change the 'medicine' that the latter is made impotent. On the contrary, multicultural education can be seen as the Trojan horse of institutional racism. Within it resides an attempt to renew the structure and processes of racism* (1986:117).

There is also the danger that multiculturalism promotes the illusion that the dominant and subordinate can swap places and learn how the other half lives whilst leaving the structures of power intact (Cohen, 1988:13).

Kalantzis et al (1990) argue that besides the lack of consensus about what it means, the multicultural approach may, in fact, be divisive. The multicultural approach may delineate ethnic groups iconographically and stereotypically so they appear to be more distinct than they are, in a complex and contradictory reality. This can increase, rather than reduce, racism and social division.

Donald and Rattansi (1992) identify, as a positive achievement of multicultural education, the fact that it allows different communities and their claims over their members to be acknowledged and valued with a new respect. However, this celebration of diversity is a drawback when it focuses on superficial manifestations of culture without addressing the continuing hierarchies of

power and legitimacy that still exist among the different centres of cultural authority.

Another danger inherent in the multicultural approach is that it can promote a 'new racism' based, not on the ideas of innate biological superiority, but on the supposed incompatibility of cultural traditions. This presents itself as worldly acknowledgement that different communities have different values and different ways of life which they have an instinct and a right to defend.

The range of disparate views with regard to multicultural education in South Africa is borne out by the multiplicity of views expressed on the subject in interviews conducted by Basil Moore (1993). Although his interviewees were almost exclusively from the radical end of the political spectrum, he stresses that the debates about multicultural education were complex, varied and politically loaded and went beyond debates between those who stress valuing ethnic differences for national reconciliation and those who advocate drawing on cultural differences to construct a new cultural base for national unity (Moore, 1993:29-30).

In assessing notions of multicultural education, one must not forget the legacy of apartheid and Muller's comment is especially relevant in the immediate post-apartheid period:

> *Multicultural education is one facet of the politics of difference. In South Africa apartheid education is the major and demeaning form that the politics of difference has taken in education. Anti-apartheid politics makes it very difficult for South Africans to accept a curriculum which re-validates the politics of difference...As soon as we try to deal educationally with difference there is the ever-present spectre of apartheid. Apartheid is a negative benchmark for our debates about the appropriate educational response to difference... apartheid is, for us, the line over which the politics of difference cannot step... And since apartheid education used cultural difference as its ideological foundation, it is not at all surprising that South Africans are both at home in talking about education and cultural difference and repelled by* it (Muller in Moore, 1993:1).

A closer analysis of the actual process of desegregation and, to some extent, the accompanying deracialisation and integration (if and when it is truly achieved), is necessary to determine the contrasting positions and influences of multicultural education in our 'open' schools. The Clase Models, which ushered in desegregation of state schools in South Africa on a wider scale than before, are sometimes associated with multicultural strategies. As is the case elsewhere, in South Africa there has also been both fervent support and criticism of multicultural education.

In the South African context, while it allows for the acknowledgement of differences among learners, often the dominant group's culture is posited as superior. This seems to be the case in ex-HoA and ex-HoD schools in which the western and 'Indian' ethos is not only given primacy over African culture but is seen to be superior. As a consequence, attempts at multiculturalism in South African education have often reinforced stereotypes and differences negatively. For example, ethnic diversity may be acknowledged by asking an African learner to do a Zulu dance in a previously non-African school or asking an Indian learner to bring samoosas for a parent's day at a previously white school. Such practices caricature the various ethnic backgrounds of learners (Carrim, 1995:22). According to Rizvi (in Troyna, 1993), an emphasis on 'saris, samoosas and steel bands' obscures the issues of disadvantage and structural inequalities which are more important for improving minority access to power and better life chances.

Another complexity of South African multiculturalism (as compared with, say, the UK or USA) is that African learners moving to the previously segregated schools are members of a new South African (not just a black South African) elite. Their opportunities, once they leave school, may be better rather than worse than their white or Indian counterparts. In time, this may well have an impact on perceptions of the superiority and inferiority of various cultures. Also, the schools will, for the most part, become increasingly African (and eventually be majority African).

At the same time, a narrow multicultural focus ignores the contradictions and complexities of minority/majority relations and tends to be based on a monolithic view which homogenises race and ethnic groups while failing to take into account such contradictions and complexities. Rizvi highlights this problem thus:

> *The cultural traditions that multiculturalism celebrates are neither homogeneous nor static, especially when they become relocated through the processes of migration and come in contact with other cultures. As individuals and groups encounter new situations and confront new problems they not only form new networks but also theorise the traditions differently. In teaching about cultural differences it is therefore a mistake to assume uniformity in traditions, experiences and ways of relating* (Rizvi in Troyna, 1993:6).

This is particularly important in South African schools because ethnic and racial groups within our schools are not homogeneous. There are vast differences within groups while at the same time there may be many common features between individuals and groups. Furthermore, the identity and culture of the individuals and groups are temporal and constantly changing. Therefore, for any form of multicultural education to be effective in South African schools we must move away from a static conception of culture and superficial or assumed notions of cultural identitiy. For multicultural education to be relevant and

positive it must be flexible enough to cope with the existing layers of identity, cultural and linguistic, local, regional, national and international.

3.3.3. Anti-Racist Approaches

In the 1980s, multicultural education gained a significant degree of acceptance as part of the mainstream educational debate in both the UK and the USA. Yet by the end of the decade there was a growing division between the liberal notion of multicultural education and the more radical, harder-edged response to racism and inequality - anti-racist education (Fyfe and Figueroa, 1993:38).

The critique of multiculturalism has a number of dimensions. On an ideological level, it has been criticised as a policy devised to contain the political and economic interests of black minorities in the UK. Its critics have suggested that it was designed to contain militancy, defuse social conflict and maintain social order. It was also criticised for obscuring issues of disadvantage and structural inequalities and not really directed at providing minorities with access to power and an improvement in opportunities. Another criticism was that by divorcing issues of race or ethnicity from class, multiculturalism reified ethnic construction and obscured its social construction. Therefore, in teaching about different cultural experiences and teaching different cultural and ethnic groups, it was a mistake to assume uniformity in traditions, experiences and ways of relating (Troyna, 1993).

On a practical level, a further criticism is that multiculturalism has led to educational programmes based on assumptions that involve blaming the victim. As a consequence, it essentially does nothing to combat racism and may, in fact, promote the very racism it hopes to address.

As an alternative, critics on the left such as Chris Mullard (1982), who has been called the father of anti-racist education in Britain, and Godfrey Brandt (1986), have suggested a more active and oppositional form of pedagogy and curriculum; one which is overtly anti-racist. There is no definitive anti-racist approach; rather, the term refers to a series of beliefs and practices concerning the proper role and function of education in a multicultural society (Gilborn, 1990:153). Brandt's approach is characterised by a rejection of previous multicultural approaches and the use of oppositional forms e.g. language. It challenges the racist mechanisms of exploitation which are located within the structures of society. Those favouring anti-racist education do not see racism as an individual problem but as residing in the structures, policies and beliefs of everyday life.

Of particular significance in the context of the 'new' South Africa, is the anti-racist focus on inferential racism, a more pervasive and subtle form that is based on assumptions which often pass as common sense. Accordingly, not all forms of racism rest on conscious intentions, but may be based on mistakenly held stereotypes and negative patronising attitudes.

From the critique of multiculturalism, it would appear that an explicit anti-racist approach, as opposed to a multicultural approach, may be necessary in South African schools. However, a more appropropriate approach in the South African context is one that bridges the gap between the two. Each may be appropriate to different stages and contexts in education and thus a combined strategy would be more effective in addressing the real issues of disadvantage and racism that still plague schools in South Africa. This may be necessary, more so because historically developed prejudices are often ingrained even if they are sometimes not readily apparent. Also, many racist practices at the individual and institutional level have to be tackled. Thus, the differential position in terms of power within the school has to be addressed if any form of cultural and racial tolerance and respect are to be promoted and for integration to be successful. In effect, what is needed is an anti-racist conception of multicultural education.

3.4. Race and Education

3.4.1. Race and Identity

The concepts of race and identity as a set of social relations with all their contradictions, have particular significance in the context of this study where many schools claimed to have a particular ethos but were unable to identify it clearly or say whether it would change as a result of desegregation. Race and ethnicity are ideological constructions that arise during the struggle for dominance and control. These are not merely theoretical categories but indicate how people define themselves and how they participate in social life. In the desegregated school, the issue of dominance and control takes on racial undertones because of the entry of a different racial group which challenges the real or perceived locus of power. Therefore, in the context of this study it is necessary to explore notions of white, Indian and African identity and the assumptions related to the homogeneity of groups making up the school population.

At first sight it seems relatively easy to define the concepts of race and identity but in reality this is not the case. There exists a confused and differential notion of race as used by human biologists, social scientists, lawyers, demographers and the man-in-the-street; a blurred distinction between racial and ethnic and a confusion between criteria of colour, geographical origin, national origin, religion, culture and ethnic affiliation (Cohen and Manion, 1983:11).

Race is the object of racist discourse and has no meaning outside it; it is an ideological construct which signifies a set of imaginary properties of inheritance which fixes and legitimates real positions of social domination or subordination in terms of genealogies of generic difference (Cohen, 1988:23). It is not a biological, unchanging concept. It is a complex, dynamic and changing construct. Far from being a fixed, natural system of genetic difference, race operates as a system of socially constructed and enforced categories, constantly recreated and modified through human interaction (Gillborn, 1995:3).

There is also a tendency to under-theorise notions of race with essentialist and reductionist interpretations that inhibit a dynamic understanding of the operation of race and race-based politics in education and society. Racial groups such as 'Asians', 'Latinos' or 'blacks' are therefore discussed as though the members of these groups possessed some innate and invariant set of characteristics that set them apart from each other and 'whites' (McCarthy and Crichlow, 1993). It is misleading to define group boundaries in such a simple, one-dimensional way.

Candace Nelson and Marta Tienda (1985:49-73) demonstrate this clearly with reference to the complexities in interpreting ethnicity in the case of the US Hispanic population. They point out that 'Hispanic' as a label combines colonised natives, foreigners and political refugees under one ethnic umbrella, but the coherence is questionable on theoretical and historical grounds. Similarly, in South Africa such coherence is questionable, not only in terms of the black/white dichotomy, but within such designated groups.

Furthermore, identity is not a static term reflective of a timeless, unchanging inner self. It is not necessarily stable and permanent, giving consistent meaning to our lives. Rather, identity is a racialised and historical construct, subject to many tensions and contradictions. Monolithic notions concerning people (of colour) are muddled if we consider the intricate influences correlated and convergent statuses have on identity formation. There exists what Stanfield and Dennis (1992:23) refer to as 'the fallacy of homogeneity'. Class, gender, religion, age, region and language in historically specific contexts all complicate what identity is and means.

It is impossible to get agreement on a single definition of an ethnic group, to adequately describe the complex dimensions of ethnic groups in modern societies, especially in South Africa in this period of extreme flux and contradiction. For convenience, this study defines an ethnic group as a group that shares a common ancestry, culture, history, tradition, sense of community, and that is also a political and economic interest group.

For example, African learners in private and Model C schools may identify themselves as Africans, but their economic (and to some extent political) interests may be closer to those of their white and Indian peers than poorer blacks. This group may be involuntary, although individual identification with the group may be optional. According to Cashmore and Troyna (1990) the notion of group is subjectively defined in that it is what the group members feel to be important in defining themselves as a group and not what others consider them to be. The key criterion for group membership is an assumed common descent, real or mythical and involves the identification of another person as a fellow and that the two are 'playing the same game' (Schrire, 1990). Ethnic distinctions assume greater importance when they form part of individual or group strategies for preserving or increasing control of resources, social status or other values.

In the context of school integration, racial and ethnic differences and identities will continue to play a significant role, despite the progress towards reformulating and redefining a South African nationhood. Distinctions between, ethnic, racial, or social groups will, inevitably, endure. People of different backgrounds have always felt themselves to be different from each other and there are many positive benefits from these feelings of personal, ethnic and social identity. What is important, however, is to explore strategies for restructuring group relations in ways which will make the differences less invidious and less likely to be a source of conflict, tension and frustration between groups and individuals in our schools.

3.4.2. Racism

Given our history, there is bound to be racism and stereotyping in schools that are being desegregated. It may not be overt and, in some cases, may be denied or discounted for various reasons. Again, it is necessary to attempt some kind of conceptual and theoretical clarification. Like race, ethnicity and culture, racism is a greatly contested notion in both the popular and sociological vocabularies. Debates over its meaning and relevance involve such issues as what counts as racism; how it is represented; how its forms have changed; how generalizable are its forms; in sum, what is its nature and scope. These are not terminological issues but are inherently practical. Much depends on them as a means of explaining racism's persistence and to combat it (Rizvi in Troyna, 1992:2). The dynamics of racism are complex and are much deeper than a catalogue of attitudes that workshops (such as the 'inter-cultural sensitivity' workshops being promoted by education officials to tackle some of the problems encountered in the desegregated schools) might aspire to change.

In common usage, racism is often equated with prejudice, implying a position of ignorance, an irrational hatred or fear of another racial group. More formally, it has been seen as an ideology of racial domination and exploitation where:

> *Racism is conventionally defined as the belief or assumption that there are major differences between different racial or ethnic groups in terms of intelligence, personality, and moral characteristics, and that these differences are inherent or biological in nature. Racism assumes therefore that one group is biologically superior to another* (Bagley in Verma and Bagley, 1975:31).

Such a definition is located in what is sometimes termed scientific or old-fashioned racism. In contrast, Carrim and Mkwanazi (1993) define racism as:

> *the systematic oppression of people of colour which occurs at the individual, interpersonal, and/or cultural level. It may be overt or covert, intentional or unintentional* (1993:1).

New radical approaches to racism remove intent from the equation; actions and/or rules that disproportionately disadvantage people of minority ethnic background may be judged racist in their consequences, whatever the conscious intent (Gillborn, 1995:5). Racism, therefore, may be implicit and not overt.

Racism, then, is not simply a function of the individual's subjective attempts at making sense of the world; rather it is a manifestation of an on-going collective process of group interactions, whereby the status and behaviour of minorities is defined and refined with respect to the dominant group. These are not arbitrary but linked to various modes of social production such as those defined by gender and class relations. It describes the way social relations and practices are organised and must be understood with reference to issues of political and economic disadvantage and patterns of inequality in society. On the other hand, to claim that all disadvantages are the result of institutional racism is to ignore the fact that a number of actions and processes in institutions play different roles for different people of the same background (Rizvi in Troyna, 1992). Thus, in the context of this study, racism cannot be viewed in either/or terms with regard to individual actions or institutional practices.

One of the most complex challenges facing anyone carrying out research on racism in education is that of its identification and representation, since racism is a contested concept without any agreed meaning with which to identify its salience. It is sometimes argued that we should do away with the concept of race, but racism is not eradicated by simply rejecting the concept (Sivanandan, 1982:163). We must address the complex ways in which people adopt racial thinking.

Racial inequality in education cannot be separated from issues in the wider society, nor can such inequalities be addressed simply through certain curriculum changes and syllabus revisions. Furthermore, we must take into account different gender and class variables which cut across racial and ethnic interests. McCarthy and Crichlow (1993) stress that the contradictory dimensions of the operation of race in society should serve as a caution against dogmatism and totalising solutions to the problem of racial inequality and antagonism in education.

A vigorous attempt must be made to understand schools as dynamic and complex cultural institutions that are deeply infused by society and stratified by its notions of difference, its unstable alliances, needs, desires and interests. There is, therefore, a need to capture the heterogeneous and variable nature of race relations in schools and show the link between social structure (economic, social, political, ideological) and what real people, such as learners and teachers, do. However, without an understanding of the institutional and social context it would be difficult to understand how racial inequality operates in education.

3.4.3. Stereotyping

Closely related to racism is the issue of stereotyping, in which individuals resort to categorisation, attributing traits to a person or group on the basis of the category or group to which that person or group is perceived to belong to. Cohen and Manion (1983:41) emphasise that the mere process of labelling something structures and biases our perceptions of it. Labelling tends to result in an exaggeration of the similarity of objects within the same category, and of differences between objects in different categories.

Corson (1991a) identifies four points about stereotyping which are of particular relevance in the context of a desegregating school environment. In summary these are that:

- *stereotyping stems from illusory correlations between people's group membership and their psychological attributes and traits;*
- *stereotypes influence the way information is processed about the members of the group (i.e. more favourable information is remembered about in-groups and more unfavourable information is remembered about out-groups);*
- *stereotypes create expectancies about other people and the holders of stereotypes often search for information and behaviours in others that will confirm these expectancies;*
- *stereotypes constrain their holders' patterns of communication and promote communication which confirms the stereotypes held (i.e. they create self-fulfilling prophecies)* (1991:11).

In a desegregated school, both teachers and learners are prone to the influence of prejudiced attitudes and stereotypes. For example, achievement in school may appear to be based on objective criteria, but when teachers judge the learners' cultural background against the yardstick of their own categories about what constitutes good educational performance, the cultural background can become an inaccurate indicator of learners' educational potential.

This study provides insight into these theoretical constructs in a practical way by determining the impact of the harmful stereotypes and prejudices and suggesting positive measures to promote tolerance and cross-cultural and inter-racial respect. At the same time, institutional arrangements that promote racism are identified for actions of reversal. Gillborn (1995:2) points out that while the education system operates in racialised ways, reproducing an inequitable distribution of rewards and punishment, success and failure, nevertheless, it has the potential to challenge racism in ways that may have a lasting impact on learners and their communities.

4. ANALYSIS, FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATION

4.1. Introduction

The link between micro and macro processes or between agency and structure is a central problem facing many researchers. Taking this into account, an attempt was made to draw together the common themes in the diverse and often contradictory data generated from interviews, observation and documents. Using a combination of deductive and inductive analyses, a set of tactics suggested by Huberman and Miles (1994:432) were used for generating meanings. These tactics, which range from the descriptive to the explanatory and from the concrete to the more abstract are:

- Noting patterns and themes
- Seeing plausibility - making initial, intuitive sense
- Clustering by conceptual grouping
- Making metaphors - figurative grouping of data
- Counting
- Making contrasts and comparisons
- Differentiation - partitioning or unbundling variables
- Subsuming particulars into the general
- Making conceptual/theoretical coherence.

The racial integration of schools provides an excellent opportunity to study the effects of integration upon the attitudes and behaviour of the people involved. The kind of integration observed and described by principals, teachers, learners and parents in the schools forming part of this study, is occurring in schools throughout the country. The following are just a few of the many questions that have arisen:

- What factors facilitate or hinder integration?
- Were there any attempts at exclusion on racial grounds?
- Could specific episodes of acceptance or rejection be identified?
- What is the general climate in these schools?
- What is the relative contribution of administrators, teachers and learners to the integration process?
- What is the nature of learner interaction in and out of the classroom?
- What is the nature of learner-teacher interaction?
- What influence does the community have on the integration process?
- Are there any patterns in the integration process?
- What are the effects of integration on academic achievement?

4.2. General Impressions of the Integrating Schools

The researcher was received with enthusiasm in most schools and was shown the utmost courtesy and co-operation. The majority of respondents took great pains to

present a very positive and supportive stance on integration. It seems that there was a concerted effort to present a justification for many of the day to day institutional practices at these schools. However, many of these practices could be interpreted very differently if viewed objectively.

First impressions of the schools in the study revealed that in most cases, a pleasant atmosphere and a constructive relationship existed between teachers and learners. There appeared to be an emphasis on providing a supportive environment for all the children. In most cases the schools' pedagogy seemed to be sensitive to the needs of the different groups of children in the school. The majority of staff too, appeared to be genuinely committed to the ideal of equality of educational opportunities. It can be said that integration in some schools displayed the markings of success. However, in-depth analysis of interview data and observation revealed that the general atmosphere and attitudes and actions of teachers and learners often militated against this. The situation was often aggravated by the structural and institutional arrangements and practices of the schools. These contradictions will be borne out, examined and commented on according to the themes and categories generated as the study progressed.

From the outset, desegregation was quite a dramatic event and most schools found it difficult to come to terms with. Many unexpected problems were experienced but there were many positive features as well. The principal of an ex-NED school in the Durban area summed up the situation:

> *It was a dramatic change for us when we started admitting black pupils into the school in 1991. I think it was difficult in that we didn't really know what to expect. We thought that it would be like teaching white kids. But it's not really like teaching white kids. There are differences and I think we've had to adapt.*

An Afrikaans speaking learner at a parallel medium school commented on the overall situation and how it has progressed:

> *I'd say a lot of people expected it not to work, but three years later I don't think there are such big problems. Everyone is getting along. There is the odd problem now and then when someone tries to hurt someone unnecessarily and there are little racial conflicts now and then but nothing out of the ordinary.*

Many of the role players highlighted the fact that even where problems did exist, they tended to occur at the outset and were usually fairly minor considering the dramatic nature of the change. A principal presented the situation in this way:

> *I could count on one hand the racial incidents that we've had and I would describe them all as pretty mild. Except that they were obviously not minor to the people involved. The sort of incidents we have had - this would probably be a typical one - where a child (it's happened both ways interestingly enough), where a white child has used a derogatory term about a black child and where a black child has used, what is considered by the white child a derogatory term, in different*

incidences. And we've probably had about four or five of those that I'm aware of and I doubt that we've had much more than that because I'm normally made aware of all these things. So the sort of thing I'm talking about is a white child losing his temper with a black child and saying 'bloody kaffir' or something like that, or we had an incident where the black child didn't like the white child and said 'hey whitey'. We've had one or two racial incidents where it's been black and Indian but really relatively minor. I'd like to believe we've solved whatever minor incidents we've had. We've had nothing I've been made aware of, of black kids wanting to beat up white kids - white kids/black kids - we don't have gangs here, we don't have that sort of thing, but as I say, it's been a couple of those little minor things.

4.3. Integration: Some Statistics and Patterns

In this study it was possible to compare the pattern of integration in schools that were relatively similar as well as those that were quite different. There are differences and similarities in the geographical location of the schools, the socio-economic level of the neighbourhoods surrounding them, language medium, gender composition and overall orientation to education.

Percentage of African Learners (Averages)[7]

ex-Department	School			Area						Language Medium		
	High	Prim	T	Dbn	Pmb	Newc	P.S	R.B	T	Eng	Afrik	P
ex-NED	17	10	14	17	10	15	30	10	12	21	<1	10
ex-HoD	41	28	35	35	35	38	30	30	34	35	N/A	N/A
Total (Ave. %)	**29**	**19**	**24**	**26**	**23**	**27**	**30**	**20**	**23**	**28**	**<1**	**10**

The different schools showed a marked variation in the percentage of integration. The African learner population in these schools (primary and secondary taken together) ranged from below 1% in some schools to approximately 60% in others, with the average being between 20 and 25%. This variation was true for both ex-NED and ex-HoD schools. For primary schools the average percentage was somewhat lower, at around 19 %, yet for secondary schools the average was 29%.

There was no marked difference between the larger metropolitan areas of Durban and Pietermaritzburg but the percentage was generally smaller in the smaller towns. However, the ex-HoD schools in the smaller towns had a much higher percentage than the ex-NED schools. For example, at the ex-HoD schools in Newcastle it was about

[7] These averages are based on information obtained from the schools in the sample during interviews with principals. In addition, to make the figures more representative, further enrolment information was obtained telephonically from other schools in the sample areas. It was not possible to obtain more accurate statistics as the education department refused to divulge such information and claimed that they did not keep pupil enrolment statistics by race. However, from discussions held during the study, it would appear that these statistics are representative of the general situation in the province.

38% and in Richards Bay about 30%. For the ex-NED schools in Newcastle it was about 15% and in Richards Bay about 10%. One explanation for the low percentage is that the sample for both these towns included Afrikaans medium schools which throughout did not have more than 1% of African learners.

In Port Shepstone on the other hand, both secondary schools had an African learner population of around 50%. The reason for this was that both schools drew their learners from a wide area. Another significant factor was that Port Shepstone High School (ex-NED) also had a boarding establishment that accommodated a majority of African learners, thus boosting the percentage of African learners at the school.

The different language mediums of the ex-NED, seemed to have a significant effect on the racial composition of the school. English medium schools ranged from about 5% to about 60%, while in Afrikaans medium schools the percentage did not go above 1%. In the parallel medium schools the percentage ranged between 5 and 10%.

There also appeared to be some variation in different socio-economic areas. In both ex-NED and ex-HoD schools, especially in the larger metropolitan areas, there was a bigger African learner population at schools located in lower socio-economic areas. For example, Brettonwood in Umbilo had an African population of about 60% while Westville Girls High ranged between 5 and 10%. Ex-HoD schools like Ganges and Silver Heights, in lower socio-economic areas, had an African population of about 60% while ex-HoD schools in higher socio-economic areas like Reservoir Hills, had 20% or less. A factor to take into account with these schools is the question of accessibility and proximity to public transport routes.

The general socio-economic level of the area surrounding the school has had a significant influence on the process of integration, in that it has affected attitudes towards integration and the kinds of policies that are followed. In higher socio-economic and more elite or exclusive suburbs of both ex-white and ex-Indian residential areas, the degree of integration at schools is definitely lower than in other areas. In many cases, policies followed at the school have tended to ensure that a decidedly upper middle-class ethos is maintained. This has had the effect of limiting racial integration. In certain schools for example, the use of residential criteria has tended to limit the entry of African learners into the school. Furthermore, where other race groups have been taken in, this intake has been limited to not more than about 10% of the school population. High school fees and others exclusionary measures have ensured that these children come from upper middle-class backgrounds. Their parents are usually high level professionals or businessmen.

In most cases, these patterns have been further influenced by national and provincial developments, local conditions, particular school policies and practices, and the actions of a range of individuals. (These school factors will be examined as part of the analysis later). In the majority of schools, integration, or more correctly desegregation, began after 1990. From interview data it appears that in the case of the ex-NED schools the main impetus was the introduction of the Clase Models, which gave official sanction to the opening of white public schools to learners of other races.

Some schools falling under the HoD began desegregation after 1985, thus pre-dating the process of integration in white state schools. In their case, the decision to integrate appears to have been taken by principals (with or without permission from the relevant minister) and was not part of a national policy. Factors that promoted the opening of these schools were united opposition to 'gutter education' and the demand for education by out-of-school African learners. There were also demands from professional and semi-professional middle-income black parents for their children to attend these schools, which were seen as an escape from the disruptions in the black schools and a means of obtaining a 'better' education for their children. An additional factor after 1991 was falling pupil teacher ratios.

4.4. Approaches to Integration

The vast majority of schools in the sample followed an assimilationist approach. In raising certain theoretical concerns the difficulty in clearly defining assimilation was highlighted. Crudely stated, assimilation refers to the process of becoming similar (Troyna, 1992:67). The adoption of the assimilationist approach resulted in a focus on monocultural education. The African learners entering the school were expected to adapt to the existing ethos of the school. Many teachers did not see anything discriminatory or racist in adopting this approach. For example, an Indian teacher in a primary school in the Durban area made the following comment:

> *They (the Zulu pupils) should be taught discipline. This is not to say we are teaching them the western way of life. It's just that there is a right way of living and they must be taught this. They must walk and talk properly and not use braids to school. It's not right.*

An African teacher at an ex-HoD school described the situation in his school thus:

> *The school is still being run as a so-called 'Indian' school. First you're looking at the administration of the school, then you're looking at the teacher, then you're looking at the pupil. In terms of the administration of the school, it is still within the old House of Delegates way of doing things. Then you look at the teachers - we have to follow instructions from the ex-HoD, even though the teachers themselves are pro-change. We want to move forward but we find that we want to move that way but the department says that, and I don't believe there has been enough from the department to give teachers the freedom to express themselves differently. And secondly, if you look at the teachers themselves, again there is some sort of reluctance. We've all been brought up differently and it's because of that that sometimes we are reluctant to accept radical change. But once the powers that be can effect it from the top it will filter down easily from top to bottom.*

Generally, the opinion was expressed that children should fit in with the existing ethos and identity of the school. Although the life experiences of the new learners differed from those of the existing school population, it was left to the individual learners to become absorbed into the 'climate' that prevailed. In many cases though, institutional

arrangements as well as the actions of individuals, exerted pressure on the new learners to conform to an existing ethos that was often quite alien to their own background. In reply to a question as to whether the school had been able to adapt and accommodate learners who were culturally diverse, a principal at a Durban high school replied:

> *I don't think so. There is an awareness that they come from different backgrounds. But we are working within the constraints of an existing syllabus and curriculum that is western and eurocentric. And they are quite happy to fit into that as well.*

A principal at an ex-HoD school, in response to whether the change in the learner population from being totally Indian to one third African had affected the ethos of the school, said:

> *No, the black pupils are generally well-behaved. We didn't have any problems as such, although some Indian pupils complained about the behaviour of the black pupils.*

Here again, it is clear that integration was acceptable only if the the existing situation at the school was not affected and as long as it did not present a problem from the perspective of control.

Allied to the policy of assimilation was the colour-blind perspective, where it was claimed that all children were the same and were treated equally. In the case of one school, Linpark High, after initially agreeing to participate in the study the principal withdrew on the grounds that the school followed a policy of colour-blindness. In another school a teacher claimed:

> *We do not see colour. All the children are the same, black or white. We have to respect and treat everybody the same. We try to teach all the children this.*

Yet the very same teacher contradicted herself when she presented the idea of 'us' and 'them':

> *People think we don't want to include them in everything. But they have their problems. There must be someone to teach them the right way to live, the right way to do things.*

The colour-blind perspective complicates the situation in that it may serve to hide racist or discriminatory practices and attitudes in the newly desegregated schools. It may also inhibit the recognition of difference. The contradictory perceptions of the African children in this context can be seen in the following statement by the principal of another high school in the Durban area:

> *And I find with the good black kids, I am not aware of colour. It's not a colour thing. It's when you are dealing with a large number of them who react in the same sort of way that you become aware of colour. For instance, at the moment we're trying to push sport. At the moment*

it's swimming. The clear instruction is that you've got houses and they swim on different days and the whole house has to attend. It's a part of the school, but we find many of the, mainly girls, don't go. And they're largely black girls. And there is almost a sort of insolence about it that says, 'We know we're supposed to do it but we're not going to. Now what are you going to do about it?' It's as though they're trying to impart their norms. I hate to phrase it like that but you sort of get this picture of township schools where kids dictate what is going to happen in the school. And for me this is absolutely untenable.

In terms of preserving the existing ethos, most of the principals were quite adamant that this was the correct thing to do and that this was what all the parents wanted. One principal justified the policy in the following way:

The ethos of this school has always been, often laughingly, referred to as a traditional, old English public school ethos. Our whole approach to education is one of looking at the whole child and we don't just pay lip service to that approach - as a staff and as a governing body. And still the majority of the parents and certainly every new parent I interview, indicates that that's what they are looking for in terms of an education for their children. We focus on things like manners, behaviour, treating people with dignity and respect regardless of who or what they are. In order to create a civilised, decent human being you have to have sound, firm discipline, clear rules, clear boundaries for children, for staff, for everybody, so that we all know when we overstep those bounds. And so it's not a laissez-faire situation at all. But yet we would like to believe that the children - and I think evidence shows us that they are - comfortable in that environment.

A teacher at another school, showing a degree of covert racism, justified the maintenance of the existing ethos:

You see at our school we've got a school policy document where all our rules and regulations are laid down, but the policy document is still based on our own system, the Indian education system. What we are trying to enforce in our rules - pupils who come from disadvantaged backgrounds - we're trying to make them conform to our system of discipline. We feel that that way we get to learn them. We are trying to promote a culture of learning among these pupils so that's the reason why we still have our rules and regulations.

Even where there are attempts to accommodate difference and promote respect for diversity there is often a patronising attitude as reflected in the following:

When we started off and probably even up to last year, we unashamedly aimed at an assimilation type model. We said, 'Listen, this is who we are; this is what we do; we believe we've got the answers to the way a child should be educated and what we're going to do is that no matter who comes here we're going to tell them, this is what we

are; this is who we are and you've got to adapt to us.' Now over the last couple of years we've slowly started to realise that while there are certain basic elements in our approach which, as far as were concerned, are non-negotiable, in other respects the world won't collapse if we make allowances and if there are little changes that are allowed and we've almost been - I won't say we've been forced into it - but we've seen that we have to bend a bit in certain areas.

Many of these attempts at accommodation have been superficial and have often been introduced with the pre-condition that the essential ethos is not changed in any substantial way. This is clear from some of the changes that were made, as explained by another principal:

For example, one of the obvious ones was that, in our music programme for instance, we've introduced a lot of songs that we would never have sung before. We would have a couple of Zulu hymns perhaps or Zulu songs or more South African type - whereas in the past we would have described our songs as basically English - we'd be singing about snow at Christmas and that type of stuff, whereas we've now shifted the emphasis there and our choir will perform items that have an African feel to them and we will bring in bongo drums and so on. Another one that comes to mind is our policy as far as uniform is concerned, where we've started to make allowances.

It seems that, in most cases, only the actual composition of the learner population has been effected by the new racial and ethnic composition of the school. In most other ways, the ethos of the school has not changed much, or the dominant forces in the school have seen no need for any change in order to reflect the new learner make-up of the school.

While many schools operated on the premise of assimilation, others saw the need to maintain separate identities. Often this was not the result of a commitment to positive multiculturalism but more to preserve the existing ethos in a 'pure' form. This was especially true of the Afrikaans' medium schools. In this regard a principal of an Afrikaans's primary school said:

I'm the only Afrikaans speaking school in the area. We accept any race as long as they are Afrikaans speaking. We don't mind having other races as long the Afrikaans language does not get lost in the process. The integration system is wonderful, but the way things are going they are just trying to break down things. You have to accept that cultures are different.

A teacher at another Afrikaans medium school presented this perspective:

The Zulu people don't seem to think the same way about a situation, so I would say if integration has to be, it has to be from a very young age, so that they are in the same group and are confronted with the same type of situations and problems as the European child has been for

years, or the Indian child has been for years. They have to learn what to expect in a school situation because many of them have never even been in a town, so it is difficult. I mean even if you look at Afrikaans and English, we're totally different to English-speaking and they're totally different to us. I can see problems with people being totally different and expecting a child to react as their culture sort of leads them, to what our culture leads them. Yes that could be a problem.

It is clear from the range of schools examined that approaches to integration varied considerably. Some subscribed to a totally assimilationist approach. Others went to the opposite extreme to ensure that separation was maintained within the school. More often than not, however, the schools followed some form of multiculturalism or just let the process develop with very little purposeful intervention.

4.5. Role and Attitudes of Principals and Teachers in Integration

It is important to consider the attitudes of principals and teachers towards the process of racial integration of schools. In examining the teachers' and principals' reactions, differences and similarities are apparent. It is important to view the kinds of adjustments made and to identify the factors that facilitated or hindered the process of integration. In this regard, it is clear that both teachers and principals played a significant role in influencing the process of integration. Recognising the urgency of desegregation, many principals (and teachers and parents) not only accepted the change but acted as the primary agents in bringing about a co-operative spirit. They established a climate that was responsive to the pressures generated by the process of integration. On the other hand, while most of them adjusted positively, some found it difficult to come to terms with the new circumstances of a racially pluralistic learner population. While accepting that integration is a reality, they have been unable to make adjustments in their attitudes and everyday school and classroom practices to address the diversity that now exists in their schools.

4.5.1. Principals

In general, it is clear that most Indian and white principals approached integration with some degree of reservation and apprehension. While most white and Indian teachers and administrators (principals) expressed the view that they saw all children as the same, i.e. that they were colour-blind, in subtle and covert ways they reflected private reservations about schools having a large black (African) learner population. One principal explained his reservations in the following way:

> *I think I had fears and anxieties, especially with language. You know when it comes to blacks, they were instructed in Zulu first. Also I was afraid of an increase in discipline problems. I expected more fighting among pupils.*

Despite evidence to the contrary, most principals in the ex-white and ex-Indian schools were bound to challenge any suggestions that they were racist or acting

to limit integration. They generally justified their actions and attitudes on the basis that they were acting in the best educational interests of their schools, even if this was not always the case. They tended to divorce education from its social and political ramifications by adopting a narrow technicist interpretation.

Some principals saw desegregation as something inevitable that should be accepted. In response to why the changes occurred at his school when they did, a principal at a Durban high school (ex-NED) said:

> *Our numbers were dropping at Brettonwood. I think we were sitting on about 450 and the feeling at the time was that, with the changes in society and education, it was inevitable that the schools would go multiracial. And our feeling was that we would not pre-empt it but it was it was on the cards anyway and the sooner we did it the better. And you know you learnt how to handle it. Well, without being forced to later on and then being unprepared. There were all these rumblings about impending changes in education. And we saw it as being beneficial to the school. And you know we had the accommodation, we could take the pupils and the staff agreed we go that route. The parents were very happy. We discussed it at management level, with the governing body and their feeling was that they could see it happening in society.*

Another principal at a parallel medium school admitted that they were forced to integrate because of circumstances and pressure from the department. There is the clear implication that if they had had any say in the matter they would have preferred not to integrate at that stage or to that degree:

> *They came in rapidly. The main reason for this is that we were warned by the superintendents of education that if we're not going to do it, we are going to lose our - we were actually threatened by the superintendents of education that if we don't do it we are going to lose our staff. And that's why the majority of the pupils came in last year when we enrolled about 108 and they just came in a bundle of standard 6 and 7 pupils.*

On the other hand, many of the principals interviewed, especially in the ex-NED schools, positioned themselves as primary motivators for the introduction of African learners at their schools. They accepted the fact that the government's position regarding the Clase models and other political developments played a role but tended to see themselves as magnanimous initiators of change, as is clear from this response:

> *I think eventually we just made a policy decision and said that we had a social responsibility and if there is space in the school and we get people who want to come to this school then we are obliged to accept them. I got here in 1992 as principal of this school and I said, 'It's a huge school and it can accommodate*

1200 happily'. I think as a result of looking at what I believed - scientifically based - the school could accommodate comfortably, and traditionally, what people have said the school could accommodate comfortably, the management reluctantly had to accept it. The parents have the control. You don't force that on them - with all due respect. You don't force that on that parent. If you see it from a totally non-educational point of view then they would, I am sure, have tried to keep the school as white as they possibly could and looking at it from an educational point of view, I looked at the broad aspect - you've got to.

Similarly the principal of a primary school, commenting on the reasons for the opening of his school to learners of all races at a particular point in time, said:

Well I suppose I would have to blame myself. It obviously started with me. But once I had planted the seed I would say that the community here was very amenable to it.

Others saw themselves as guardians of a particular ethos and emphasised that they would like to control the process of integration:

You know the number of blacks in the school has definitely increased. There hasn't really been a sudden jump but it's been getting more and more year by year. The problem, I think, is that the parents, the white parents and the white children, don't want to be in a very small minority. They would be very unhappy if our proportion was, let's say 10% white 90% black. On the other side of the coin we have black parents who don't want us to go black. They're sending their children here because they want them to mix with the other races. We would love to keep it fifty fifty. That would be, I think, an ideal for us if we could.

4.5.2. Teachers

It is necessary to highlight and discuss a number of pertinent issues relating to teacher attitudes and actions in the context of the racial integration of schools. The many contradictions in the statements of teachers illustrate the difficulty in generalising about teachers' opinions on the issues raised in this study. Indeed, not only were there differences of opinion between teachers, but individuals often had ambivalent feelings or ambiguous perceptions within themselves. This is obvious in a teacher's response to the question about whether integration had been too fast or too slow:

First of all I think it's come too late, before I talk about the speed at which it has happened. I think the process should have been started years ago and I think we're now trying to rush into a few years, what should have taken longer and perhaps been

smoother. You know we actually went Model B first so we were very lucky with that because we had about 10% of the black population coming in and we learnt an awful lot from them.

Many teachers viewed racial segregation of schools as abhorrent, yet often the same teachers felt that the process of integration should have been controlled in some way. They could not accept that integration had become a natural process with a momentum of its own. Many viewed racial integration almost entirely from the perspective of the problems it created and often offered these problems as a justification for regulation of the process. A teacher at a parallel medium high school makes this clear in the following way:

When this process started there was a certain entrance examination when the pupils arrived, just to see if the person could at least maintain that standard. There the input into the system was more controlled because plenty were turned away because they couldn't pass the entrance examination. So those who did come into the system - it was sort of a snail's pace. They could at least speak the language and they fitted into the system and they could now continue. Then that fell away because there was no more discrimination as far as who may and who may not. So immediately we had a mass influx. A complete, total inflow of different characters who could hardly speak the language and that means we had a bottleneck and the system became constipated, for lack of a better word. So I think that that integration, whereby these guys could come into the system, could have been taken on a more gradual basis. But honestly, there are other problems too. We should first be taking people between a primary and a secondary phase - put them in a pre-secondary type effort. Get them to understand better - speak the language and communicate - because if you can't communicate you can't teach and that is a fact.

It was only in extreme cases that teachers objected to integration. In fact, only one teacher expressly rejected integration:

I think it's detrimental to the pupils. Had the pupils remained in their own schools it would be better.

More positively, other teachers accepted it as something long overdue that could not be subjected to regulation even if this was desirable:

Interviewer: When we have asked teachers about the process of integration, we have had varied responses in terms of the rate of integration. Many have said that it should have happened long ago, but many were concerned that it was either too fast or too slow - that the process could have been regulated in some way. In terms of your own experiences, either at this school or your previous school, what do you think?

Teacher: I do think that it should have been started a while ago. Not that it's too late - I wouldn't say it's too late but it was too much, say, half way through - let's put it that way. I think it's a good thing that it's actually started now and I do think that the children who are going through this now are very privileged. I don't think it could have, or should have, been regulated in any way. I personally feel that with the changing circumstances in the country there is no other way they could do it. They had to just throw it open and get it done and we're having teething problems but I truly believe that in five to ten years time they'll be over.

In a similar vein, a teacher at another school said:

The thing about integration is we just have to put our heads together and accept the fact that it's part of the entire change in the country and if one says that this has to be controlled, I cannot understand how this can be. As far as I know, it cannot be speeded up as well. I think things should be left to develop at their own pace. So long as we know that the powers that be will ensure that there is no disparity in terms of resources, in terms of money, everything that needs to drive the education system. As far as I'm concerned, I'm satisfied with that and looking at my school in particular, I think that the integration process is something that took place long before it started officially. They've had pupils of different backgrounds here as early as 1992. It's only this year where the total intake of, especially African pupils, has increased.

Many teachers said they felt uncomfortable in their initial dealings with the new learners. Much of this discomfort they attributed to the fact that they had had very little contact with African children in the past. Virtually all the teachers interviewed also considered that their training had been less than adequate in preparing them for the linguistic and cultural diversity they were now encountering at their schools. Many of them emphasised the fact that the process was a learning experience for them as well as for the new learners:

It is the first time that we've had to teach African pupils. With all the stereotypes that we are brought up with we know that African people have been viewed in a certain way. That was the most important challenge that I had. I had to try and erase this thinking within myself and my pupils. They should not only look at the surface but go beyond. You must understand that we are looking at two sets of people, at African and Indian and that the African way of life and the Indian way of life are too different. To exacerbate our problems, we have lived a life of seclusion. We don't really know what is actually going on. We come from our homes, we come to a school, we bring along all

those sentiments that we grow up with. Now when you come to school you find some kind of crisis situation developing where you are brought up with this thing and now you see the person that you were made to believe - or have negative feelings against - is here next to you and you have to really convince yourself that, look here, what I was told doesn't necessarily hold true. From both sides. And from there understanding develops.

However, there was also a tendency to stereotype African children. Most were automatically considered to be from under-privileged homes with inadequate backgrounds, yet a number of African learners, especially those entering the ex-Model C and ex-HoD schools in the more elite ex-Indian residential areas, came from middle-class backgrounds.

We are dealing with a disadvantaged group here. Most of them take a long time to adapt. Our main focus was upliftment of former disadvantaged kids.

In general though, the prevalent attitude among teachers was one of taking things as they come. Most teachers were not apprehensive and saw integration as a long overdue event. However, many teachers expressed reservations about the nature, course and extent of integration. Some teachers did not care, some were very positive and welcomed the change, while others were deeply worried. Some also felt apprehensive about their own ability to cope with the new learners' reputed behaviour and academic problems. This is clear from the following statements:

Again, from an educational point of view, many of the black pupils who've come in have not been able to cope. They've battled enormously. Children came to us from their previous schools with really good marks for English and then failed.

and:

One little thing that came about is my black pupils, particularly the girls, tend to touch each other a lot more - they hold hands - and the white children could not understand this - that they walk along the corridor holding hands. I mean you can imagine the sort of comments that were made and there was offence on both sides let me tell you and one girl said to me that the white children get furious if they touch them or press up against them in the corridors.

Teachers' attitudes often reflected a lack of understanding and an ignorance of the complexity of the issue of integration. This was accompanied by racist and stereotyped notions of different race and cultural groups. When asked about problems encountered in teaching a racially mixed class, teachers tended to focus on perceived 'deficiencies and inadequacies' of African learners without

looking at their own approaches or the curriculum. This narrow perspective is clear from the complaints of a technical subjects teacher:

> *The basic technical skills of the African pupils were zero. I don't think they were ever exposed to the technical side from a practical point of view. They weren't exposed to any situation where they could live out and express their views by building of projects, woodwork or metal work maybe. That side - that was a problem. The major issue here was culture, because they have a culture that is completely different to what we have. Although the English also have a culture but it's more - it fits in. It's more a black culture and a white culture you know. We have to accept that it was a process which we jumped into - we had to - at the deep end. Basic etiquette was another major issue - black pupils walking in front of the girls into classes, for arguments sake. To them, that's their culture because they've got to protect their superiors so they go first, whereas in our culture we say no, that's disrespectful. They don't stand up to greet you, they stay seated because of their culture, so that was a learning school as far as the teachers were concerned. Communicating language-wise became an issue because you would explain something - the simple basics in simple terms - and they would look at you and you would say 'Do you understand?'. Yes sure. But when you got down to the nitty gritty - no clue. So either they said yes they understand to not feel out with the rest of the group or because they didn't know better. Listen, they must realise that they're here in a teaching realm and they have to exploit this realm for their own benefit. But they can't see that.*

The main concerns of teachers with respect to teaching a racially mixed class were, in order of frequency:

- language and communication
- high levels of late-coming and absenteeism among African learners
- cultural differences
- the disadvantaged background of African learners
- discipline and noise levels
- lack of parental involvement

Many teachers seemed ultra-sensitive to any behaviour on the part of African learners that appeared to differ from the norm or what they were used to. Many principals and teachers said that they had felt the need to lecture students on what was considered to be appropriate or inappropriate behaviour. They were particularly concerned about the exuberant behaviour and loud speech of African learners. One teacher complained :

> *Now there is never any quiet or order in school anymore.*

Many were particularly concerned about the problems associated with the fact that many learners lived a great distance from the school:

> *I think our biggest problem is that the children live too far away from the actual school. They don't come to school on time. They don't get picked up at home. Their transport is very unreliable. And then I think another thing for them is that they can't participate in the extra-mural activities that we offer because they just can't get home. I think that is their biggest problem.*

Another teacher commented on the changes teachers had had to come to terms with at her school:

> *Yes there are lots of differences you know - like generally black pupils - I've been told it's a cultural thing - but they do speak very loudly and Indian teachers have found this rather annoying. Also, for example, they have a twenty five minute break - after the buzzer they will continue eating. They will not stop eating. They expect to be allowed to eat in the classroom and things like that.*

A recurrent issue raised by principals and teachers was that of hairstyles and uniforms. While a number of teachers were understanding and accepting of concessions that needed to be made to African learners, others were less flexible. A principal explained the concerns of teachers:

> *Listen, a lot of them* [teachers] *felt that when we first took in the blacks they got special treatment. They found it very difficult to accept. Like African girls - they came in with extensions* [to their hair] *which was not part of the uniform. They* [teachers] *were told that that was their culture but many felt that it is not the culture in the African schools. They go with their hair normal and they felt that these people were getting preferential treatment.*

The over-reaction of some teachers to the issue of hairstyles and uniforms is evident in this teacher's explanation for why it was outlawed at her school:

> *Teacher: Actually we haven't changed any rules. We've got a couple of rules where we're quite strict. We had some children wearing an ethnic hairstyle - what do you call them - hair extensions - and after much debate and discussion between teachers, the governing body and parents, we decided that at this school we weren't going to allow it because we wouldn't allow it for anybody. So that's become part of the school rules.*

Interviewer: I notice that seems to be an issue at quite a few of the schools that I've been to. It's interesting that you should say you have taken the decision that it's not allowed. Some schools have allowed it. Is there any reason why this has become a kind of focus.

Teacher: I don't know. My personal opinion is that we found it was a very untidy hairstyle and not really necessary in a primary school child. It was regarded more as an exotic type of hairstyle and not a culture thing and after discussing it with the actual people from that culture, they also said that that kind of hairstyle is not actually allowed in some Zulu schools. It doesn't appear that it's from their traditional culture.

Some teachers tended to blame problems that arose on integration without taking into account the range of factors that might have impinged on that particular problem. This is clear from one teacher's comments about the increase in theft at his school:

The incidence of theft in the school has increased dramatically. This feeling is widespread amongst the colleagues at similar schools. I was in a meeting of all the boys high schools in South Africa and this point of view was voiced. Simply because it has been perceived as part of the regrettable incidence amongst the black culture. The people who have lived in the townships have suffered this so that's where they've come from. I think that's been the view. There's no doubt that there's a huge increase in the incidence of theft in the school.

On the other hand, some teachers highlighted the value of integration in increasing understanding and tolerance of culturally diverse individuals and practices and allowances have been made in some schools to reflect this:

I think that changes are occurring as we become aware of them. I think that the school regulations are being made more flexible to accommodate certain, again I think mainly religious and cultural groups. To be more aware of the problems related to, lets say, the black pupils, where the type of hairstyles that they wear are being accepted, whereas if a white child came with the same kind of hairstyle it certainly wouldn't be accepted. In school uniform, I think that adaptations have been made to cater for the needs of these people.

However, there was a tendency to highlight differences and create an 'us' and 'them' situation. In this context the benevolent tendencies of teachers (and others involved in the process of integration) are potentially dangerous. The African learner has been constructed historically as the marginal. While nearly all the teachers welcomed the changes to schools, at the same time they invested the African learner as the 'other', to be developed to the 'standards'

with which the teacher was acquainted. The African learner is perceived by the teacher as being different, not up to standard, an inflection of the norm and a target for change. Teachers who have positioned themselves as those who 'know' have been given the power to speak for, or represent, the learner who is invested as lacking and so upholds his or her authority. Once the African learner is targeted as lacking, the teacher can 'develop' that learner to maintain standards, 'bridge the gap', or make same that which is different (Bhana, 1994). Such attitudes are evident in the following quotes:

> *Honestly, I've brought this up at staff meetings every year. We should take pupils in at standard 6 level and we should subject* ***them*** *to one year of intensive English - a bridging year. Where we don't teach history and geography, general science and so on,* ***they*** *just do Maths (because* ***we've*** *found that* ***their*** *maths is very poor as well) and English. Because basically it's like* ***we're*** *talking a foreign language for many of* ***them*** *and I think that that would help the African pupils to cope better. Because if you went to a country overseas and you wanted to study at university in a different language, you would have to go to language school before you could enter that institution. I think this school has been very sympathetic towards pupils in terms of their problems. We are in the process of trying to arrange proper transport for pupils from various areas - you know, bus services rather than travelling by kombi. So we try to arrange a bus service travelling from* ***their*** *area straight to school and back home in the afternoons.* ***We've*** *also accommodated* ***them*** *on a Friday. On a Friday we finish school at twenty to two rather than half past two so that* ***they*** *can get home.*

Many teachers see their role as one of upliftment and an attempt to introduce a 'better' (western) education. This has the effect of investing the African learner as deficient, the subaltern, someone who is 'cut off from mobility within both foreign and domestic dominant structures' (Spivak, 1990:1) which reinforces, on one hand, that state of 'lack' while simultaneously legitimating the privileged position of the teacher and the traditional learner population of the school. In response to a question about whether there had been any advantages in school integration one teacher said:

> *For the black child there have been many advantages. They came from rural areas. They came from townships like Umlazi and there were things that the children didn't know and we took for granted and I realised that it had to be taught to children. They didn't know how to use a toilet, how to use a tap; they didn't know that throwing litter on the ground was wrong and those children who came in then - certain things that they would be expected to do, they have learnt.*

A similar view was expressed by another teacher:

We make some of them into prefects, that are so advanced. There are some in our cricket teams. We have put them into things to show that they are the same now and they are on a par with the Indian kid and on a par with the white kid. So they are in cricket teams and volley ball teams and prefects. They are on scholar patrol too - so they are like one with the others in this school. There's no differentiation.

While this paints a dismal picture of the general attitude of teachers, some teachers did realise the danger of polarisation when it came to tackling issues of integration.

I actually have problems with those sort of questions. I think that if you're still thinking of an 'us and them' situation you're already in trouble.

While many teachers felt that schools were enriched by the cultural diversity represented in them, it was often difficult for them to realise this in practice. Many subscribed to the notion of cultural enrichment in the abstract, yet they largely failed to seize opportunities for the expression of cultural diversity. Where it did take place, it was often superficial and served to reinforce cultural stereotyping:

Teachers have been spoken to, to accept them as they are. You know, our school has been structured in such a way that everything is prescriptive. Working within those prescriptions there have been some changes but there are certain things we are still governed by. We can't willy nilly change course. We try to get more Zulu done and so forth. Changes as well - times of functions and school activities like the cultural day and all that. Now we see a more global thing where we are looking at Indian culture and also including the Zulu - so they've been brought in.

In another school it was admitted there was still some difficulty in acknowledging diversity although attempts were being made:

Certainly at the outset it was one of imparting a westernised ethos on one and all so it wasn't multicultural at all. It was really one of assimilation. But we've certainly moved away from that and we're now looking more at multiculturalism. We have tried to understand just what their particular culture entails. However, by virtue of the smaller numbers, in many respects there is still an assimilatory aspect. Also, I think folk who send youngsters to a school like ours accept that the country is ultimately going to be bound by English as the language of the day. They feel that they want their children to understand and accept westernised ideas.

Many teachers said they had been led to believe that the new learners would not be able to perform at the level existing in the school, only to discover that many of these learners performed well and did not present 'behaviour problems'. As a result, teachers have been forced to take a second look at their assumptions as is clear in this case:

> *At Glenwood and Northwood I've seen that the black students who came into the school were talented sport wise, music wise, and the white pupils respected them for their specialities and also, it actually helped them to view people differently. I mean they were normal. Some of the kids in my class, were very normal. I mean more so than in the model C schools which are quite well-off. People come from a different background. I realised there was no such thing as 'you're not as good'.*

Some teachers have been able to adapt to the changing school environment while others have been caught up in the dilemma of wanting to change but failing or being unable to do so in a fundamental way, because they have seen only the need for the new learners to 'fit into' the existing structure.

Teachers perceived the needs of schools as being: more teachers/smaller classes; better facilities; language and reception arrangements (e.g. use of placement tests and bridging classes); restricted or controlled intake of learners of other races. A very small percentage saw the need for significant curriculum change, with many perceiving this as having occurred already. Many teachers called for teacher-support workshops, but few saw the need for specially trained teachers or for teacher re-training. The prevailing perception of the situation was limited and did not include a recognition of the need for fundamental changes in perspective and content. This has led to traditional-type solutions or minor adjustments to the prevailing practices in schools.

Whilst many teachers have taken on the responsibility of fostering and developing good race relations amongst learners, often there has been little recognition of some of the changes, including curriculum changes, which might help to promote good race relations in schools. Further, while there was apparently an overall willingness to make changes, the more fundamental the change suggested, the less willingness there appeared to be.

4.6. Learner Attitudes to Integration

Learner attitudes varied substantially between and among racial groups, although there were many similarities. In general, learners were positive about integration. The majority accepted the challenge of a new school environment, responded well and made favourable adjustments. However, a number of learners said that the newness of the experience and the initial adjustments required were sometimes taxing. A learner at a parallel medium high school summed up the situation in the following way:

It was strange at the beginning because for so many years we were used to just one racial group in school. As we all know, black pupils have different cultures, so it took a lot - no I won't say a lot - just a few months to get used to everyone's way of dealing with things.

An African learner at the same school expressed more ambivalent feelings. There was greater apprehension initially and not as much positive feeling about how much understanding had really developed:

I was really scared but I did feel a bit happy that I was going to be with a different race for a change, but then I didn't know what to expect. I didn't know what the reactions of the white kids would be like. It was very tough for the first year. Even now there is not much change because there is not enough communication between black and white.

This ambivalent attitude to integration is understandable considering the dual pressures on African learners. Some learners might be eager to 'fit in' to the culture of the school, particularly if their experiences at the school allow them to have positive and productive interactions with colleagues. No one, particularly a teenager, wants to be on the outside looking in. An African learner at an Afrikaans medium school emphasised the problem of being an outsider:

I felt terrible even though I was from a white school as well. I didn't feel good. I felt alone. I felt lost. I felt like going back to my old school. I felt left out because I was the only black kid in the whole school, but it wasn't like they were horrible to me. And you know I don't like what my teachers are doing. They give me too much attention - like they feel it's their responsibility. Even when I understand, they are unsure of what I am doing and yet I know what's going on.

An Afrikaans-speaking learner described the difficulty facing African learners at her school as follows:

There's one or two at our school. They feel left out because you just see white people around you. You're the only African person in the school and everybody talks Afrikaans and Afrikaans is not your home language probably, and they don't make many friends. You don't actually know what to talk about because you've got two different cultures, so they'd have to learn our culture and stuff like that.

At the same time, learners were sometimes reluctant to fit into the culture of the school because 'fitting in' might result in their acquiring new ways of thinking and behaving that could alienate them from their traditions and values. When they returned to their neighbourhoods, learners might perceive themselves (and be perceived by others) as cultural misfits. Consequently, they have the potential for becoming a cultural subgroup, not fitting completely into either their local community or the school. This dilemma is clear from the pressure felt by this learner:

I felt it was a challenge. I had to learn to cope with them. I had to act up to their standard. I felt I was losing my own culture more to their culture. At the same time as they say, if in Rome, act like Romans do. You just have to act like them. It's scary.

In interviews and informal conversations with learners it became clear that they adopted different styles of speaking and demeanour when they were in the separate worlds of the school and their social life outside. These styles however, were not always exclusive to one setting and elements of the wider (African) youth culture were increasingly being seen within the school. For example, a particular style of walking or loud speech was used by some African learners in the school and this was interpreted as being inappropriate in some way by most teachers and some white and Indian learners.

However, other white and Indian learners and teachers have realised that they need to adjust to these differences. A white learner stressed this in the context of the so-called loud speech of African learners:

It took just a few months to get used to everyone's way of doing things. I had to accept the fact that black people are very noisy. I don't know why it bothered me at first but I wasn't used to such a loud noise. Loud noise during breaks, in general. They like shouting at each other or just being noisy in general.

On the other hand, some African learners have been prepared to adopt the culture the school transmits to a certain extent. An African learner who lives in the now mixed residential area around one of the schools and who had become assimilated to an extent into the 'school culture' saw the other African learners as a problem. She justified their exclusion thus:

They talk Zulu - they talk whatever their home language is and they actually should be speaking English - trying to practice the language - which is the main reason why we come to a white school. The kids coming from the location have difficulty coming to school. Sometimes you find they're late or they can't make it to school because the buses are full or there's a fight in the location and they can't make it to school. I think they should only accept children who live in town.

It was interesting and perhaps ironic, that a number of African, white and Indian learners were similarly opposed to a substantial increase in the percentage of African learners at their schools. Compare the following statements by learners from different race groups:

I don't know how to explain that, but if they don't take an entry test there's going to be overpopulation in the school as well, so I think they should. (African learner, Port Shepstone)

If say, the school became black; if we had to go to, say, 75% black 25% white, then I'd definitely consider leaving because then you're

disadvantaged. Black pupils, they don't swot, they don't play sport, the only thing they sort of participate in is basketball and you can't have things like that.(white learner, Durban)

We have 80% blacks in this school now and many of the Indian students feel that it is a problem. There's not going to be any Indians left in the school. It has become a black school. We felt that the education level is going to drop. (Indian learner, Pietermaritzburg)

These attitudes seem to indicate a sense of separation developing between the African learners who have already gained entry into the integrating schools and those trying to gain entry. They seemed to be particularly concerned about maintaining a racial balance at the schools. This was particularly true of learners who had gained access to schools that were perceived to be more elite. An African learner at one such institution said:

At this school, it's better for them to take the people that are more qualified because you can't just open the school to everyone. You can open the school up but you have to take the top pupils who will be successful in the end because they're not all going to be able to fit in. So why leave someone whose intelligent and who can do well and take someone whose just going to fail anyway.

Yet the very same learner, while stressing the benefits of integration, recognised that there were certain experiences she would be missing in attending this school. There is a sense of alienation reflected:

I think that integration's been a good thing because you learn about different people and different cultures etc. and I mean the real world is desegregated ultimately, so you learn how to act in the real world. Its benefited me a lot because I've learnt how to deal with people. There's so many people that I'd never have met if I was just in, say, a black school. My parents decided to send me to a racially mixed school and I've always thought it was a good idea. But sometimes I think I've missed out on a lot not being in a black school, but then I've learnt so much more as well so I still think it's a good thing.

In most cases there was concern about standards dropping as a result of an increase in the African population of the school. Many learners, in fact, stated that they would leave the school if the percentage went above 60%. However, there were a number of learners of all races who felt that it was not a problem being in a school where the majority was African. For example, an Indian learner at a Durban primary school presented this view:

There has been an increase in blacks who are now fifty percent. I don't think anything should be done to stop them. It is sad not to allow anyone to a school on their colour.

A white learner displayed a positive change in attitude about the dramatic increase in the African learner population in his school:

> *I became a bit worried about the future of the school but after a while things started to settle down and now I say that the position is stable. It's not really a problem now. You have to get used to it. I think that it's good that it's happening now and that we get educated the right way. We're going to go and work with people like that, other races and that.*

The general impression with regard to learner attitudes is that they were more positive than those of parents, teachers and principals. Children see fewer problems with the process than adults and a significant number are of the view that there is not enough integration. (This view will be elaborated on in the context of interaction.)

4.7. Role and Attitudes of Parents to Desegregation and Integration

While parents' attitudes varied across race, language grouping and geographical area there were many similarities. Many parents had reservations about the changes taking place but felt they were inevitable. At the same time, they saw integration as a positive step in the long term and that it was necessary for their children to learn to adapt. A parent of a learner at a Durban high school described her attitude to school integration:

> *I was happy to see the move. It was difficult for the white children to adapt to it but I felt with the changing in the country the children had to learn to deal with it. I feel it's very good because once they go out to work they have to mix with other groups. You know they go straight from school to work and if they haven't mixed with other races it is going to be very difficult for them.*

Another parent said that some parents felt it was the right thing to do while others saw it as inevitable:

> *In the first instance, the majority of the parents believed that it was probably the right thing to do. There were certainly plenty who believed that it was the only possible way to go whether we liked it or not. So essentially when we went to the vote on it, it was unanimous in favour of opening the school. But I know from my discussions with people that it was for those two reasons. I'd say the majority of people, because they believed it was the right thing to do from an ethical point of view, but a substantial minority, because they would have said something like 'the writings on the wall anyway, why fight it'. So you had those two camps. I would say it was split about 75/25.*

Some schools, particularly in the smaller towns, faced greater white and Indian parental objections to integration, even if it generally came to be accepted as inevitable. There were some incidents, as is clear from the situation at a Newcastle school:

There was one section of parents, I would call them the right wing section; we had a few problems with them. Some of them came and took their children out and they said straight away that they didn't agree with the system. We didn't fight. It's their right, their privilege, to take their kids out. But the majority, the vast majority, I would say 85-90% of the parents of this school co-operated fully.

A similar situation was described in Richards Bay:

Interviewer: In some areas we've had parents objecting and there have been cases of withdrawing pupils from schools and so on. Have you had any of those experiences?

Principal: Yes. Some even threatened violence. In general people who felt so strongly about it took their kids and left the province. But they were the exception. I had no complaints from the majority of parents about accepting children from other races whatsoever.

Even amongst parents there seems to be a strong sense of 'us' and 'them'. Allied to this, some parents appeared or posited themselves as being liberal and progressive but were covertly quite racist. Some also appeared to have a superior and condescending attitude. This may be inferred from an Indian parent's perception of her attitude to integration at the outset:

Well actually I have no problems with integration as such because we have been involved in lots of other activities out of school where we dealt with a number of, if I can put it, 'black' friends that we have and politically we have been active and we have been working with many black people, so it meant nothing. I would say we have been trying very hard to change the perception of certain people. We have been working very closely with, largely black people, but we did have a problem with people with perceptions with regards to blacks entering the school. We tried as far as possible to make them feel comfortable with regard to the manner in which you handle certain situations and so on. As a parent I have counselled quite a few people with regard to this.

Almost all white and Indian parents interviewed tried their utmost to emphasise that they were quite egalitarian and antiracist. However, in many ways it was obvious that most white and Indian parents wished to ensure that the pattern of advantage that their children enjoyed was maintained. Many parents wanted to preserve the *status quo*, especially in the smaller towns and more so with parents who were Afrikaans speaking. A teacher in Richards Bay summed up the situation in this way:

I think in this community you're going to find that there's going to be a little bit of a resistance. They don't want the high school to change because they've got the English medium school finally built and they wanted an English medium and an Afrikaans medium school. This area, Richards Bay, is very much a working community and we've got

a very strong Afrikaans speaking white community here and I think they would like to retain it as far as possible.

However, this attitude was not limited to Afrikaans-speaking parents. An African teacher at the ex-Indian Richards Bay Secondary viewed the parents' attitudes in the following way:

The Indian community is usually very, very conservative and you find that lots of the parents still cling to that old way of things - that basically if you are an African you cannot fit in at the school. But I've noticed from my interaction with the community that sometimes those feelings, those thoughts the parents are having, can be different. Only if you interact with people can people really see you for what you are. People should come to understand that race has got nothing to do with this. You are a human being. You are put in this situation and you want to perform. They mustn't look at race. The only important thing is they must look at each other and see human beings.

Many of the parents interviewed, white, Indian, Afrikaans speaking and even some African parents, desired that the process be controlled in some way. In this regard one parent commented:

I do think there should be control, I would say initially, because I find that white parents would come and talk to me and they just feel that bringing, say, fifty/fifty in wasn't a good move. It should have been done slowly so that the children could adapt. Some of the children didn't adapt.

Regarding the racial composition of the school, most white and Indian parents seemed to prefer a 'middle-of-the-road solution'. African learners were welcome but there should be a guaranteed white or Indian majority. For all the changes that had occurred and the positive response to integration in general, privately, a number of white and Indian parents were still opposed to the idea of their children attending a school whose learner population was predominantly African.

Some opposed school integration because they felt that it violated the concept of the 'neighbourhood school', since most of the new learners came from outside the traditional feeder area of the school. Parents (and principals and teachers in a number of cases) were fixated on the concept of the neighbourhood school as a means of controlling the entry of learners of other races into the school. They did not want the school learner population to become predominantly black African. This view was expressed by one parent:

Basically we cater for people who are in the community. We try to persuade them, if they really are against our philosophy and ethos, that they'd be better off at the school down the road. Because they're just not going to feel comfortable.

A problem with this insistence on the community school concept is that it could be and was used as a means of exclusion. African learners have been excluded because residential segregation is still entrenched and invariably they come from outlying areas.

Added to this concept of the community school was the fear that achievement levels and standards would drop. Some parents denied emphatically that they opposed integration on racial grounds but said that they feared that their children would receive an inferior education in a school with a diversified learner body. Many parents (and teachers) were proud of the school's academic reputation and were afraid that this would suffer. They were also concerned that the reputed behaviour and academic problems of the new learners would have an effect on the performance of their own children. A parent expressed his concern thus:

> *Parents definitely are very concerned about maintaining standards, about having good discipline. They definitely want excellence. I don't think it has very much to do with where the child comes from or who he is as long as he can conform to what is expected of him. I know there are schools we've heard about - they've been on the news and so on - that are very much concerned with keeping their culture intact. Our parents are not like that. I'm not like that myself so I'm very sensitive to anybody who has a very strong pride of race or whatever. And I haven't noticed anything like that here. I've found that they've been very open to changes and I'm very positive about that.*

Despite the conflicting attitudes to integration and the continued expression of racist attitudes, the majority of parents have accepted that integration is a reality and that the process cannot be regulated as such. They also generally rejected the private school option as not viable. In response to whether the school would opt for private school status if Model C schools were outlawed, one parent said:

> *If you're taking this area as being the area I don't think we'll survive as a private school because the majority of the parents are battling with the high school fees as it is. I don't think the school will survive. I mean parents are wanting the best education but at this stage some of them can't afford it.*

It is evident that African parents are conspicuous in their absence on the governing bodies or PTSAs of the newly integrating schools. Even when they are represented, it is usually by middle to upper-middle class professionals who are fairly conservative and support the general direction of the school. As with the learners, some African parents also supported some kind of control of the process of integration:

> *I will take my child to another school if the number of African students increases too much. The standards will drop and there will be the same problems as at the old school.*

As with the other role players, it seems that for parents too, integration was generally a learning process, with attitudes changing over time. In many cases there was an increasingly positive attitude displayed. However, in a number of cases, despite there

being no serious problems, parents still felt negative about the overall benefits of integration, especially as it pertained to standards. While many African parents were of the view that standards and facilities had improved, more white and Indian parents felt that they had declined. It is clear that far more in-depth investigations of parental attitudes to and their role in integration are necessary.

4.8. Admission Policies

Admission policies have differed and been changed over time with some degree of contestation accompanying the setting of such policies. There is now a uniform policy as decreed by the education authorities in the White Papers and subsequent Draft Schools Bill. However, there still appear to be some attempts at challenging this policy at school level.

During the initial process of desegregation the majority of schools, both ex-HoD and ex-NED, tried to limit and control the admission of African learners in a number of ways, including the use of entrance tests and residential qualifications. In the ex-NED schools, testing in some form continued until 1995 in most cases. In the ex-HoD schools, tests were administered initially, but in almost all the schools in the study they had not been used since 1993.

Control and regulation of the process of integration occurred in schools across the different departments, phases, regions and language mediums. While it may be that some testing was carried out for the purpose of placement, in a number of cases testing was used as a means to regulate entry of African learners into schools. A number of African learners were excluded from these schools on the basis of oral and written tests.

One principal openly admitted this:

> *Once we integrated we added certain criteria and I have to admit that in the very beginning, at least one of the criteria was designed to avoid, as far as possible, getting children that we would have considered undesirable. One criteria that was first mooted by the governing body was that if you were coming from our community you would have to be a property owner or a property renter. In other words, you can see quite clearly it was aimed at not having all the maid's kids at the school. That didn't last long. In fact, it lasted less than a year, but it was there. You know you asked me about change so I'm trying to just give you a picture of how it changed. The other one which we had and we still have was that - we've never done any placement tests as such - but that we would, through chatting to a child and through one on one with a particular teacher, try to ascertain whether the child's level of proficiency in English was such that he or she would cope in our environment. That was conceived of as being the only sensible thing to do. The feeling among the staff was that we couldn't cope if we had say more than 50% Zulu speaking children in the class. I suspect that it was supported by the governing body and the*

parents and I wouldn't like to be unfair to them, but I would suspect that it was probably supported not for the same reasons as it was from the staff point of view.

Exclusion and regulation is even more obvious in the parallel medium schools if we consider the observation of a parent of one such school:

There was talk that we were trying to keep the balance we have now. I don't know exactly what that percentage is but the other groups coming in, they're all coming in to the English classes. This is basically an English and Afrikaans dual medium school, so the English class are affected where I think the percentage is about 70% other races, 30% white. It doesn't affect the Afrikaans classes at all.

Besides controlling access to the school, such policies tended to create the aura of two separate schools within the same physical plant. While there was a degree of integration in the English medium streams of the school, there was none at all in the Afrikaans sector. While assemblies, breaks and sporting and other extra-curricular aspects were combined, the impression of separateness still seemed to permeate these schools.

The same is true of the Afrikaans medium schools. The policy communicated by one Afrikaans medium school principal was the policy in all the Afrikaans medium schools in the study:

Language - Afrikaans. You must be able to progress in Afrikaans. If, for instance, a black child comes here and the parents can't speak Afrikaans then I test the child. He must be able to read Afrikaans, must be able to communicate in Afrikaans and write in Afrikaans, not necessarily on the standard of my pupils but as long as he can cope in the language and in my school he can show progress, I'm happy with that.

Here racial or class-based exclusion was justified by reference to other needs and may have been a form of what Meier et al (1989) refer to as 'second generation discrimination'. This was apparent in the following response to the question of whether such measures were actually a means of exclusion:

I think again I can summarise everybody's concerns in one easy sentence. They were concerned with a drop in standards and their definition, everybody's definition of a drop in standards, is too many children who can't speak English. We're an English speaking school. We educate in English. We don't have a problem with any child, talking on behalf of the general community, as long as a child can come to the school and be able to communicate in English. The rest we don't have a problem with. So that was the real crux of the matter.

That testing was conducted to maintain the existing *status quo* is clear from the explanation given by the principal at a Newcastle school:

This particular school was half empty in 1992 when I came here. We decided to open up gradually and test pupils, mainly language-wise, to see what their competency was as far as the medium of instruction was concerned and we started taking them in and we started filling up the school. We were actually afraid that the new government at one stage would say 'You've got so much space, here are the children, take them' and then I'm sure our standard would have dropped rock bottom.

Many principals emphasised their colour-blind perspective when it came to admissions, despite the fact that whatever admission policy was used, it disadvantaged African learners:

So our criteria have remained all the way through - and the only way I can find is to say 'like-minded' people. But for us the definition of a like-minded person is somebody who subscribes to the philosophy and the ethos of the school as explained by me, both in our prospectus and verbally at every interview, because I interview every parent in an hour's interview. I spell out the philosophy and they then either indicate that they're willing to conform to it or not. If they aren't we don't accept them. But that cuts across all racial barriers.

In addition, some principals, especially from the ex-NED schools, made it quite clear that fees acted as an exclusionary measure, especially for people not living within a certain residential zone.

Quite candidly, where the big change has come of course, is the financial one, particularly since we have become Model C. The ability to pay has, in our instance, become a criteria for someone who's coming in from outside the immediate community. We have two sets of criteria. One set for those who live in the community, because basically we cater for people who are in the community. We will take anybody for whom we are the closest school, whether they can afford it or not. We don't turn away people just because they're poor. But on the other hand, we do turn away people from outside the community, people who might be passing six schools to come here. We have actually taken a decision - we did this two or three years ago - that it costs money to run our school. We cannot afford to take in a whole lot of people from outside, whoever they might be, who either cannot afford to pay or will not pay. So we try to ascertain whether people fit into either of those two categories.

Obviously such a policy would exclude mostly African learners, since the majority of African learners that have been moving to the ex-white and ex-Indian schools have come from outside these zones. Even now, residential segregation still exists on a wide scale and most of the new learners come from outside the schools' traditional zones.

The primary means of exclusion and control, however, was through the administering of some form of entrance test. The tests differed in that some were comprehensive and

well thought out, while others were elementary and *ad hoc*. Most were administered only to African learners, while some were applied to all learners and formed part of the school's streaming mechanism. Such an example is described by a teacher justifying testing at her school:

> *We didn't have just one test. Prior to this we had an entrance exam. That also hasn't been satisfactory. We tried to make it skills-based as much as possible. You know, we honed in on things like English, Maths. In English, we did an oral test. They had to prepare an oral. We had prepared reading, we had unprepared reading, we had comprehension - two different types of comprehension test. We included some multiple choice but we also included full written answers because I don't believe multiple choice tests usage of language whereas the multiple choice does test their comprehension. So we were trying to give natural ability and intelligence a chance as well as just English language.*

In this school the tests were still being used as recently as last year but were given to all new learners, not only African learners:

> *Interviewer: Have you subsequently dropped the use of those tests or are they still in use?*
>
> *Teacher: No.*
>
> *Interviewer: Were these tests given to just the new students?*
>
> *Teacher: No, no. Everybody did them. Every single child in the school did them because we then rearranged - this is standard sixes - from there down. There were some disadvantages as I said and of course with the semesterised courses which we have here it meant that pupils who'd started on science, say, as opposed to the biology side were switched, so that was a disadvantage - although we did try to circumvent giving too much information at the beginning in these content subjects. This year a single test was drawn up which was done in the first couple of days. It was a skills-based test and it incorporated all sorts of different things.*

Generally the tests were not as comprehensive as the one at this school as is clear from the procedure described below:

> *What we do is we interview them. We've got a panel of four or five teachers that interviews the candidate and then if we feel that it's still a border case, we give him something to read and after he has read a passage we ask him one or two or three questions on that passage. We also invite the parents to come along and listen to the interviews that we are having with the pupils. In the past we've just said no, it's unacceptable and then they don't understand why, but now we call them in while we've got the interviews and they can immediately see.*

When we just ask th m a simple question and the pupil can't answer - second and third question - then we just go back and - sorry, he can't communicate.

The *ad hoc* nature of the testing is also reflected in the procedure adopted at another school:

What we did is we had a reading study test on the child's level. We didn't take for standard 2s a standard 2 book, we took a standard 1 book, in other words slightly lower than what they were used to and we let them do the reading study test and they read the piece and had to answer certain questions and once they had completed that, the teachers went and marked it and other teachers sat down with the pupils and had them read to them.

In these cases the tests were also justified in terms of standards. Allied to the tests was the placement of learners in a standard lower than they were in at their previous (African) schools. An ex-HoD principal explained the reason for this:

Principal: In the early years, in the interest of the pupil, we tried to select them on the basis of screening in English and mathematics and that helped them to be placed in classes where they could cope. But now this year of course we didn't do that.

Interviewer: The initial tests - were they formal written tests?

Principal: Yes. Just to gauge their ability levels and see whether they could cope and on the basis of those tests we found that in some cases they just wouldn't cope in the standard and at their choice we allowed them to drop a standard.

Interviewer: And what is the present policy? How have you admitted pupils this year? Unconditionally, or ...?

Principal: Unconditionally. People were not happy with the idea of selection tests etc.

Measures such as dropping a standard or the use of so-called 'bridging classes' were widespread, especially in the early stages of integration. They tended to be phased out as objections were raised that such measures could be racist and discriminatory. Even so, in many schools these measures were seen as being necessary and were still in operation, as is evident from the justification given by the principal of an ex-HoD primary school:

No we don't use an entrance exam but what we've found is that we had certain children coming in, say, above standard 2 and 3. If we just placed them in the standard that they ought to be in they found it difficult to cope. Being taught in the medium of instruction, in English, was another drawback to the child. It's not that he was less intelligent

as such, but because of circumstances and the curriculum there was a need for him to repeat that class. Parents in that respect were very, very co-operative - I'm talking about the black parents - where you made a recommendation. It wasn't compulsory. We made a recommendation that if your child goes straight into standard 3 he's going to be exposed to examinations, he's going to have to do Afrikaans for the first time. He's got no background and even with English it was a different curriculum that they followed and we suggested that that child remain in standard 2 for that year and we found that that one year made a big difference.

Added to this, schools also tended to limit intake to certain standards or grades, again using the African learner's ability to cope as a justification. For example, another principal explained the policy in this way:

Well, other than the bridging, our intake has basically come from the bottom upwards you know, so they come in in class 1 and certainly class 2, standard 1 level and we've tried to regulate that so that, as the process continues, they move through the school, which has allowed them an adaptation and understanding of the language and learning language at a very early onset, rather than taking them in higher up the school. Not to say that we haven't, but it has been primarily at the bottom end of the school. But now we're six years old in terms of integration so they've already reached the senior phase.

Closely linked to the use of admission and entrance tests, is the policy of streaming followed at most schools in the study. The purpose of an integrated school is not to homogenise learners. Instead, the purpose is to encourage learners to recognise, even celebrate, their differences, while helping them form friendships and working relationships across racial and cultural lines. However, such streaming practices, which lead to African only classes, run counter to the notion of an integrated school as they encourage and reinforce separatism.

As a result of the streaming policy, a number of schools have classes with a totally African population or a very high percentage of African learners. Furthermore, in most schools there are very few African learners in the A and B forms, which enjoy elite status, while there is a high concentration in the F and G forms. This is generally true of ability or course streamed classes. A principal described the result of such a policy:

The only one of concern to me is the grading system that we employ. You know we put our classes, I'm talking about Standard 6 and 7, strictly according to merit and I think inevitably you're going to find that 6H is predominantly black and it sometimes worries me. But when you look at it educationally, I believe that it's a sound principle because those kids are obviously not at the same level academically and will move out of that. So I don't know if that answers your question. We do have some black classes.

Most schools appeared to group or track learners on the basis of their estimated intellectual abilities and/or interests. For African learners, estimation took the form of 'looking at' the learner's previous year's report card or by using the same tests used for admission purposes which were often not a very reliable predictor of ability or interests. Ability grouping was common in the primary and junior secondary phases where learners were sorted into different, so-called homogenous, instructional units. In the senior secondary phase there was curriculum tracking on the basis of different course selections. Most teachers and principals defended grading, saying that it was not used to discriminate racially. A teacher at a Port Shepstone school defended the policy thus:

> *We grade on academic ability. If any child of any race has an inclination for the subject we give them the subject and we give them opportunity. We did advise the kids. If you get a kid getting 5% in mathematics is it fair for him to do that subject and fail? I'll tell this child straight 'You would have to go down one grade lower'.*

While it may appear that all learners, together with their parents, have the freedom to decide which courses to take, this is not the case. Interviews revealed that subtle pressure and 'good advice' by teachers in charge of streaming was used to structure and influence the choice of courses. In the case of African learners it was not just a matter of advice. They were assigned to certain courses and classes on the basis of the tests and judgement of teachers and principals. Teachers' estimates of these learners' abilities would not depend purely on past examination results but might include social factors of class and race. Racial, ethnic or social-class stereotyping influence the placement of African learners in low-ability groups. It is clear that streaming has been encouraged on the basis of incorrect assumptions and putative benefits to learners. This was clear from this teacher's comments on grading:

> *Interviewer: Do you agree with streaming at your school?*
>
> *Teacher: Well we are trying a grading system to help the pupils and it's in an experimental stage at the moment so I'll only know by the end of the year. I think the school is going all out to try and help the pupils that came in. The streaming is based purely on academic work. It wasn't just for the black children, that class, because the other two classes also have black children and I'm taking language in that class because I wanted to uplift them. I thought it would be easier if I have a whole lot of children who don't know - I mean if I have to go up to class 1 level or class 2 level I think it's easier for me to tackle that group rather than have ten in a class and try to teach those ten as well as work with the balance of the children.*

It was clear that most schools were viewed as 'meritocratic institutions' and in line with this, teachers responsible for placement of learners claimed that streaming of learners was done purely on the basis of academic ability. The problem with such a view is that very often 'meritocratic' may be synonymous with non-discriminatory. The

'meritocratic' notion suggests that all children have an equality of opportunity for educational success whereas this is clearly not the case.

As was the case with selection tests, teachers held conflicting attitudes to both the concept and the actual practice of streaming. Some argued strongly for it in terms of catering for different levels and facilitating the teaching process. In this regard a teacher commented:

> *It is good for students of similar ability levels to be put together as this facilitates the teaching and learning process. In any case, a 'poor' student will find himself a misfit in a 'high-flying' class.*

Some teachers still supported streaming even when it was pointed out that it reinforced resegregation in schools. They argued that the language ability of the African learners made streaming a necessity and that different strategies could be used in these classes.

Opposition to streaming was, however, quite substantial and very strongly voiced, as in the case of this teacher:

> *I firmly believe this is outdated. If you have mixed-ability classes weaker students would benefit. It is morally wrong, since labelling and categorising according to past performance can lead to students performing according to expectations.*

Others were disillusioned by the fact that this practice was fairly well entrenched in their schools and was applied in a manner that was insensitive to the real needs of learners. They pointed out that it created feelings of inferiority in the learners that were in the 'lower streams'. One teacher claimed that while teachers stated that they made allowances and adaptations for different streams in their teaching strategies this was, in fact, a fallacy. In most cases, similar things were taught in the same way to different groups with only the pace of instruction varying.

The reality of the streaming or sorting practice at most schools, whether by design or not, is that African learners are disproportionately over-represented in lower-level academic groups. This reinforces resegregation in the school and minority learners are over-represented in a situation that perpetuates disadvantage. They are resegregated, provided with an inferior educational experience compared to many of their peers in the school and stigmatised by staff and other learners. In short, they are placed in learning environments that do little to close the gap between Indian/white and African achievement levels.

Attitudes to the different entrance and admission policies showed marked differences. Some teachers and principals supported them enthusiastically while a minority rejected them as racist and discriminatory. A teacher highlighted other problems with the use of tests in the following way:

> *Even though we try to move towards an open and fair system, sometimes it's still very, very exclusive. You see our admission policy leaves much to be desired. It says that we can accept Africans but we*

only accept the best. The others have to be left out. Whether we like it or not we know that the reason why we have Indian communities is because of the apartheid legacy. That's why we don't have African people staying there. Now if we are saying that we want to have a new balance in education, look at Esikhaweni and look at this place. We know that Esikhaweni is an African township and we know the level of teaching there is degenerating whether we like it or not and the standard can never be equated. They can never be equal. Now you are saying African pupils go there, Indian pupils go here. Schools should be left open for everyone who wants to come to the school. First co. ie first served. Wherever you stay, how you come, that is your own business. The communities themselves will have to group themselves and establish means of transporting their kids from the townships to school. That is my policy.

Even among learners, some supported the use of admission tests and some opposed it. This difference in attitude is true of white, Indian and African learners. Ironically, a number of African learners at the newly integrating schools supported testing of some sort. For example, an African learner at a Port Shepstone high school justified testing in the following way:

Interviewer: Do you think pupils should write such entrance exams?

Learner: Yes I think so, because if they just let people come in, if they don't take an entry test there's going to be overpopulation in the school. The test should be made more strict because this is a big school already and there are too many pupils.

A white learner at the same school also supported testing but presented the argument for it somewhat differently, even though the effect would be the same:

I think the school should undoubtedly have an entrance exam. I think it's very important because an incapable pupil will actually hamper a capable pupil in the class because the teacher will inevitably have to stop and explain something, say twice, and over the year you can actually lose a lot of time.

Similarly a learner at an ex-HoD school defended testing in the following way:

I think pupils should write an entrance test. It should be just like when we write an exam. Here they have no idea. They can't cope. Most of them can't cope, especially when they are put in a higher standard.

At the same school an African learner said that such testing was unfair and put too much pressure on African learners in an environment that was already alien and hostile:

I don't think that pupils should write entrance tests when they come to this school. Okay let me talk about the black student. In our schools we do some English but you know when we do those subjects like English

you only go for language so it's difficult to talk as I am talking now to you. Here when you come into the school you have to write and tell them about yourself and so I found it was difficult when we have to write a composition. But it's changed in that when I came in this school we wrote a comprehension test and they only asked some questions. They don't need to give them tests like that. So just to interview, mouth to mouth.

Other learners rejected testing for the following reasons:

It should be up to the pupils and their parents. All people should have the opportunity to come to a school.

and

I don't think there should be tests because maybe they're given a test on a subject that they're not really good at, so that wouldn't really help them much. Maybe you should just try to get to know their personality and their behaviour and stuff. I don't think that the school should be for only children from this area because then what if the place that the child lives in doesn't have really good schools? So they have to go get a better school.

An Afrikaans-speaking learner emphasised the discriminatory and unfair nature of admission tests, especially in relation to African learners:

Well in certain cases I think it [the entrance exam] should be given. Actually I would say it's unfair to some people to make everyone write an entrance exam because when we, the white children, were admitted into school, there was no such thing. Suddenly they're expecting the black children to have it. So I think in some cases it's unfair, but I have experienced that some of the Taiwanese children that are in the school have problems speaking English and it's not working for me, especially for prefects as well. It's causing problems because they don't understand what you are saying to them. So in some cases I think it's necessary.

From this review of past and current admission and testing policies it is clear that a macro policy statement on its own is not enough to ensure fair and non-discriminatory policies are practised at the level of the school. On-going monitoring and engagement of school communities must be done to ensure that national policies are maintained at local level and abuses are prevented.

4.9. Nature of Learner-Teacher and Learner-Learner Interaction

4.9.1. Classroom Interaction

Most schools have some form of class and achievement difference at the school and classroom level, but the difference in class and achievement between the races now entering schools is far greater. School administrators, faced with the task of integrating their schools, have had to deal with this increased level of diversity. Unfortunately, teachers and administrators have been taught and socialised to respond to learner heterogeneity by organising the learner body into homogenous groups. In addition, learners left on their own usually prefer to associate with peers most like them. Thus, the desegregated school seems to have a natural tendency to resegregate. A learner at a primary school described the situation:

> *In this school there are some children, like the Zulu children, who only speak Zulu. They only stick together because they really don't understand us. But I've got lots of black friends.*

Another learner said:

> *There isn't much communication between the black kids and the white kids. There is no communication between the races. Everyone should talk. We must all talk together. We mustn't be in groups - we mustn't be grouped.*

The principal at the same school made the following comment regarding the level of integration:

> *There is a tendency for them to keep apart during breaks. In the class it's like forced integration.*

In many schools, the new learners were not isolated from the other learners in the classroom. Most teachers were quick to incorporate the African learners into most classes. However, at the initial stages and, to some extent, even at the time of the study, there was still a degree of separation, especially where there were institutionalised streaming practices. There has also been some differential treatment by the staff, not only in terms of separation but also, and especially, in terms of discipline.

There was evidence that in many schools new children had been separated from the other learners through seating arrangements or by being placed in separate classes. In many cases the justification for this was the use of so-called 'bridging' classes. Claims were made that these children's lower level of English language usage and academic ability required that they be given special attention in separate classes. For example, a principal at a primary school stressed the necessity of bridging classes in the context of maintaining standards:

We strive to have high standards, we strive to be a centre of excellence, but because of the influx of other racial groups, especially our Zulu-speaking pupils, we find that in certain classes we had to lower our standard slightly because in standard 2, 3, 4 and 5, of the three English classes, the third is what we call the language development group and we find that in those classes the standard of education is not as high as we would like it to be or as high as in the other classes.

Whether these classes were referred to as language development groups, bridging classes or remedial classes, in effect they have resulted in resegregation within the desegregated school and have militated against true integration. This was borne out by the following comment by an African learner at a Newcastle high school:

We mustn't be in groups - we mustn't be grouped. There is a problem in this school. The E1 class is a combination of all different races, but then there's an E2 class where there's only blacks and there is no communication - there definitely wouldn't be because they are just one race.

That separation was an institutional feature of some schools was clear from this principal's explanation of the school's integration policy:

Mainly my black intake was in grade 1 and grade 2 and that will carry on. Every year I establish another black - I don't like the word black but let's use it now - class, so this will continue until they are up to grade 7. In grade 3 to 7 I've got a couple of children in every class but this will increase. I presume in five years it will be very close on 50%.

Racial separation has been reinforced in the parallel medium schools as is clear from a teacher's comment:

When you walk down on the field - on the playground - you see that you have your groups, especially the English, because the new pupils are all English. So we have the white English and the black English or the African English. Those guys communicate. I mean in classroom situations you have two friends sitting next to each other and they're faced with the same problem. They sit there and they take out their calculators and they do their work and they ask questions of each other and discuss it. As far as that's concerned we've got to accept it. The Afrikaans pupils are not exposed to this because they're not in this classroom situation so you talk to those friends who are in the class. So the Afrikaans pupils haven't been exposed to a forced combination because of language, so no, I don't see mixing taking place there.

While there were encouraging signs of positive teacher interaction, many African learners faced negative teacher interaction in the classroom. Such negative responses occurred when these learners were seen by the teachers as an apparent threat to classroom management and teaching effectiveness. This was often complicated by the teachers' preconceived notions of the ideal learner and what constituted appropriate behaviour. For example a teacher generalised in the following way:

> *Behaviour-wise, very big problems. There's a lot of violence amongst the blacks themselves. We find them fighting with each other in the class and we find in the afternoons when they go off, even when they're getting into the bus, there's a problem. That's a very big problem. They tend to be a robust lot. They can just hit you at any time in the grounds. Although we've got some ruffians among us, we've never experienced that type of behaviour. Just now and then you caution them and they come right, but amongst themselves - it's not Indian/black - amongst themselves there's a lot of fighting going on.*

However, others felt that such preconceptions were unfounded:

> *Interviewer: Some schools have raised the question of discipline. They've said that with the influx of African pupils they've had discipline problems. Has that has been your experience?*
>
> *Teacher: You know I think that's a fallacy. In fact we have had problems here where the blacks have put on a better display of behaviour than our pupils and our pupils are responsible for instigating them. In fact, if you look at the office, we've had to deal with very few racial incidents or problems with black pupils.*

An Indian learner, discussing the discriminatory interaction with African learners, painted the following depressing picture:

> *Most teachers I feel don't like the black students. They are always placed down. They are not equally situated in the school. Say, if I come late - and I have no reason to come late - I just explain what happened. If a black pupil comes late to the class the teacher immediately sends him out of the class and to the office but they never understand that they have travelled from the actual townships. But I can get here late, from the school's point of view. They should not treat the black pupils different.*

A teacher emphasised the need for individuals and schools to develop strategies to encourage greater integration:

There's still a lot of distance between pupils but I have worked with the Indian children. During the lunch breaks there's still racial polarisation. We've really tried to encourage greater interaction, especially in the classroom. Interaction will come with very creative means. You can't always wait for things to happen. We need to devise methods where we can overcome this. Because if we wait for change to happen it may not.

On a more positive note, there were instances where learners were actively integrated in the classroom both in regard to seating arrangements and joint activities. Many teachers expressly stated that they had a policy of mixing learners of different race groups together. They also insisted that in group work all groups had to be heterogenous. For example a teacher commented:

Although predominantly they still socialise in their own race groups, there is lots and lots of inter-racial mixing. Teachers also deliberately try and bring about mixed groupings in their classroom work. I try to encourage socialising across student groups in my classes by using a variety of co-operative learning strategies. This is important because students who work together learn to appreciate each others skills and accept each others cultures.

4.9.2. Social interaction

Outside the classroom, interaction across race does not always occur. At the early stages of integration especially, it was observed by both staff and learners that there was a great deal of separation by race. This seems to be true even today but more so in the senior phases of the primary school and in the secondary school. Most respondents observed that the playgrounds were the most segregated areas in desegregated schools. Children seemed to show a preference for members of their own racial group and a desire to mix and play with them rather than with others. Most groups playing or involved in other forms of interaction, such as sharing lunch or in conversation, were predominantly of one race group. Although there was not a sharp cleavage at all times and groups with a changing racial composition did form, dissolve and reform, there was generally a subtle form of differentiation. A teacher at a high school described the situation thus:

I don't see much interaction taking place. For instance, you see all the black pupils together, all the coloured pupils together and Indian pupils, but very seldom do you see a mixed group so that aspect hasn't sunk in at this school.

An African learner who was quite pessimistic about the advances of integration summed up the situation thus:

I still feel there will never be a change between blacks and whites. There isn't much communication going on. If you look

properly during breaks - the blacks alone, the coloureds alone, the Chinese alone - it's always the case. Everything is in groups. There's no communication between each and every race in this school and you'll find that no-one's speaking English.

If one were to base the success of integration on the development of close social ties between learners then a very negative picture emerges. A principal made the point in this regard:

I think that you'll find that your white groups seem to remain as white groups and the black groups seem to gather. You know there's been no real friendships that have developed. I could probably count on my hand the number of friends you who'd go home and take a black friend home or a white friend home.

However, it was observed by teachers that among the younger children in the primary phase, there was greater and more extended interaction amongst children of different race groups, in spite of extended periods of separation. A grade one teacher described the situation with her learners as follows:

Oh there's a lot more mixing but - it's funny - except for the eating. The minute they get up to play then it's an absolute mix. I've often wondered how they just congregate and they just sit there and talk and often the little Zulu children will congregate to eat and speak Zulu and then the minute they get up to play then they're calling people to play hopscotch and all sorts of things and then there's an absolute mix and then automatically they change over to English. I've watched this while I've been on duty. It's quite fascinating.

However this own-group preference does not necessarily reflect an antipathy towards children of other skin colours or cultural groups. Many of the teachers interviewed were of the opinion that there was racial separation because learners felt more comfortable within those racial groups because of language usage. They felt that the African learners tended to keep together and communicate in Zulu during these periods. Furthermore, friendship patterns based on a combination of race and residential area played a part.

Despite some teachers' benign interpretation of the situation, some learners and teachers emphasised that the continued separation of groups by race reflected a degree of racial intolerance. This was true especially where the percentage of new (African) learners was high. An African learner at a Newcastle school suggested that definite steps be taken:

The pupils don't mix and keep separate. I think it's better to command the students to be together because otherwise they don't allow children of another race.

A teacher at another school expressed a similar view:

> *The situation in most of the classes is that they tend to sit with their own group, you know, black pupils sitting with black pupils, coloured pupils sitting with coloured pupils, then also you get Muslim pupils sitting with Muslim pupils. So I think we have to look at that situation - especially as teachers - so that integration can take place. There should actually be formal compulsion about mixing, but most of the teachers are afraid to do that - to try and enforce integration. Pupils don't like that. So that is why they just leave them to sit where they want to sit and so they automatically go to their own groups.*

The majority of learners and staff accepted the situation and felt that it was not something that the school could change:

> *I think it's natural that they sort of stick among themselves. Even at breaks you'll find them all going to sit in areas in the ground where they just have their kind only and we can't solve that. Only when society is integrated completely. It's just they come from different backgrounds so they're obviously going to portray the same characteristics here, so they're going to keep to themselves. That you can't change.*

A learner highlighted the difficulty in breaking down existing racial barriers:

> *It's kind of impossible because you can't change somebody else's heart. You can't change someone's feelings. You can change the outside. They might act as though they want to change but normally inside they don't like this.*

In general, schools were not prepared to do anything constructive to foster greater integration. It required too much effort and was generally viewed as something that should take its own course:

> *Interviewer: Has the school been doing anything on a practical level to try and foster integration?*
>
> *Principal: We are just handling this as something normal. We're not making an issue of it. We're leaving the children; they are coping themselves; they are fixing themselves. We're not making an issue of this. We are leaving this to happen naturally.*

In the future, thought must be given to the role of mother tongue usage in grouping patterns. Learners tend to group where they feel most comfortable in conversation. For example, in most of the schools where data for this study was gathered, three mother tongues were spoken by learners: English, Zulu and Afrikaans. At these schools, white, English-speaking learners or white,

Afrikaans-speaking learners and Indian English-speaking learners formed the dominant group. The African learners at these schools had Zulu as their mother tongue and although many of them were reasonably proficient in English, they preferred to spend their informal moments with their mother tongue associates. Unless fairness in the use of languages is established, there is little hope for successful inter-cultural socialising.

4.10. Language Issues

In the majority of schools, administrators, teachers and learners continually focused on the language issue. In most cases it was seen as a major problem facing the African learners entering the once racially exclusive schools. Language difference has come to be associated with 'language deficiency'. However, this seriously underestimates the complexity of the task facing learners and teachers where English is not the child's first language or mother tongue.

Many teachers expressed concern about the linguistic (English) ability of African learners entering the school. A constant refrain from many teachers was that the African learners could not cope because of the 'language problem'. This came up with regard to questions on admission and selection tests, problems in general, communication and on the need for institutional change.

In response to a question on what problems teachers faced in communicating with African learners, most teachers said that many African learners could not speak or understand English properly. An interesting common feature was that in most cases, the problem was located in the learner. Very few teachers saw any need for a change in themselves or the institution to accommodate the linguistic level of these learners. An English teacher had this comment to make:

> *Even at standard 8 level many students are unable to speak or understand English. They cannot cope with the work done due to their poor command of English. Black students are reluctant to speak English which adds to the problem.*

Where there was acknowledgement that the 'problem of language' was one involving the whole institution, the total dynamics were often not fully understood. Even when teachers recognised that a part of the problem resided in themselves, often the only adaptation they made was to speak at a slower pace.

Many schools justified the use of bridging and separate classes for African learners on the basis of their perception of the 'language problem'. For example a teacher made a case for a separate language class thus:

> *Two years ago I had a very large Standard 9 intake. Most of the pupils were from the Transkei. It was an all black class in the end, I'm sorry to use the term. And they were in that class because of their ability. They were doing first language higher grade. They battled enormously. These pupils had tremendously inflated ideas of their ability and it was*

very demoralising for them to fail because we were testing them at higher grade level. They insisted on staying on higher grade despite efforts to persuade them to go to standard grade and then right at the very end of the year they changed to standard grade. Now it's very discouraging to teach a class higher grade Shakespeare and you know they're actually not understanding what you're telling them. Many pupils are doing Zulu main language and English Main language.

A similar justification for resegregation was offered by other principals. Again, while the separation implied all children with language problems, it amounted to a separate class for African learners:

The main problem that I can see was language. The fact that we've got to teach children in the language of English - a language they don't use at home - that in some cases their parents can't use - that they were not familiar with - so it was difficult teaching children in a language that they cannot handle adequately. In fact I had a bridging class last year - a language bridging class where all the children in the school who could not use English efficiently were accommodated and we mainly were concerned with language education.

and

In the last four years my remedial teacher worked a programme where she targeted a great number of second language levels, predominantly black, who had difficulties with language. She got them in and she went through the basic concepts of class 1, even if they were in standard 4 and 5. It's helped a great deal. I won't say it solved the problem but it's helped a great deal.

It may have been necessary for some of these learners to take English second language or to receive specialised instruction to make up for their shortcomings because of their educational background. However, there was a failure to recognise that excluding these learners from 'normal' classroom life could have an adverse effect on their educational opportunities. These practices may sometimes have compounded the problems they hoped to address.

With the entry of African learners into these schools, one of the overriding concerns in the early years of integration has been the teaching of English. This has proceeded in an atmosphere of 'muddling through'. Most teachers in the newly integrating schools (except in the Afrikaans medium schools) have not been trained in English second language teaching and there is a lack of suitable materials. In addition, there has been only sketchy direction and support from the education departments. The emphasis throughout this period has been on the teaching of English through the 'direct method'. The mother-tongue of the new children is not considered as having any part to play in this process.

According to some teachers and most African learners, African learners were generally excluded from most discussions because it was assumed that they were unable to cope

with the level of English required for involvement in the discussions. Most often in primary school and in some cases in high school, when attempts were made to engage the African learners in communication and group discussion, there was a tendency for teachers to use telegraphic language. If this strategy failed, teachers would lose patience and ignore the children. An African learner at one high school made the following comment:

> *They [the Indian teachers] have this way of talking to us - in a real simple way - cutting off sentences and speaking very slowly. And yet if we take our time in speaking then they get angry.*

Teachers have often been working in the dark, usually with good intentions but with damaging results, in addressing what is a serious problem, as is clear from the following quotes from some teachers:

- *Keeping in mind the maintenance of standards, every possible effort is made to cater for language deficiency amongst students. In some instances the prescribed syllabus is ignored and information for immediate needs is conveyed.*

- *To teach a student abstract concepts, for example in maths or science, is a problem because their thought processes occur in their mother tongue.*

- *There should be an immediate review of accepting students from English second language institutions unless an infrastructure is set up to cater for second language speakers.*

On a positive note, a number of teachers recognised that the problem of language was not insurmountable, or one that resided only with the learner. A teacher explained:

> *I can't think of any real problems. The language barrier of course - that they don't always understand exactly - but one learns very quickly to come down to the level of the language that they can understand. It's not a problem.*

Yet another teacher explained the need for adaptation on the part of teachers:

> *We've found that we really have to adapt our teaching style tremendously. The pupils have a very limited understanding of English so one has to sort of water down everything, simplify everything to a great extent. One cannot take anything for granted. You can't, for example, use the kind of terminology you normally use at high school level. It's just inappropriate. One has to simplify a great deal.*

Generally, however, the perception of both teachers and learners was that the main problem in the integrating school was the African learners' use of English or lack thereof. This is an area that needs to be explored further and addressed at school and departmental level. Many teachers were not prepared to accept that the ethos of the

school had to change to accommodate language diversity, as is clear from the following:

> *Interviewer: In some schools, the recommendation of the new language policy is that while a school may have a medium of instruction, we can't see the school as being an English medium school. All schools are really multilingual schools. Do you think that is going to be the way you see this school developing?*
>
> *Teacher: Look I don't think we should go towards that direction. They have to decide whether they want to send their children to an English medium or a dual medium school or whatever and if we are only English medium - I mean we can make our school dual medium but imagine having a dual medium and getting teachers to teach them geography and history and all those subjects through another medium. That's a cost factor.*

At racially integrated schools, Afrikaans and English are regarded as official languages and thus the official languages for instruction. Furthermore, they are required subjects on the Higher Grade (the highest academic track) either as a first or second language. In other words, a learner must be successful in either English First Language (Higher Grade) or Afrikaans First Language (Higher Grade) to promote to the next grade level.

The place of Zulu in the integrating schools is a matter of some concern. No instruction through the medium of Zulu exists and Zulu can generally only be taken as a second or third language. Moreover, Zulu is not a curriculum requirement. Almost none of the ex-HoD schools offer Zulu and those ex-NED schools that do, tend to offer it as a second or third language, with only a few schools offerring it as a first language. In most cases the Zulu-speaking learners (mother tongue) do not receive Zulu lessons. A principal at one school put forward an explanation:

> *The main problem was language - first language, main language. You see English is not their main language so we had to look at the standards there and Afrikaans is the second language for the English classes. We had to accommodate them there as well because you cannot expect them to have Zulu as a first language and English as a first language and Afrikaans as a second language, so we made adaptations there. The school offers Zulu Std 3, 4 and 5 but then the Zulu pupils do not attend the Zulu periods, they go to an English lesson instead. Zulu is offered as a third language.*

The importance of language differences in education has been exaggerated and prescriptive attitudes to language on the part of teachers have been a far more potent force in educational failure than the differences themselves. The assumption that the only language suitable for educational purposes is standard English has led to a narrow approach to education and a failure to recognise the considerable linguistic resources that exist within every school. The advantages of drawing on children's existing skills are two-fold. The children are likely to grow in self-esteem and confidence from the feeling that their language and culture are valued and recognised by the school and

teachers are prodded out of a preoccupation with what their learners lack (i.e. a mastery of English) to an appreciation of skills seldom exercised in the classroom. This enhances teachers' awareness and expectations of children's potential for learning. Linguistic diversity should be looked upon as a classroom resource rather than a problem (Edwards, 1984:83-91).

4.11. Standards

As with most other aspects of integration, the issue of standards has been quite controversial and has elicited contradictory responses from administrators, teachers, learners and parents. Some of the concerns were reasonable and well-founded while others were emotional and often based on racist attitudes and unsubstantiated assumptions. The range of views is clear from the following quotes.

A principal at a Durban high school claimed:

> *Anyone who pretends that he or she has managed to maintain standards with these children around is not being honest.*

Another principal saw a decrease in standards as being inevitable:

> *There will definitely be a drop in standards, although many will not admit it because they are afraid of being labelled racist. In our school I think the fears in terms of standards are unwritten. In fact, we are taking in students in standard 6, 7 and 8 and fewer in 9 and 10 because of a concern with standards dropping. We have a few years to build them up so that our matric results are not affected too much.*

The concern with standards has even led to the adoption of strategies which were supposedly for the benefit of the new learners but may not have been really educationally sound. They were often based on common sense assumptions, as is the case in the following:

> *Initially we decided we are going to keep our standards as they are. It meant that some of the black pupils had to drop a standard or two. They had completed, at a black school say, grade 5. They came to my school, wrote the academic test and I put them back in grade 5. In some cases even grade 4. We put them in there and they fitted in. But we tried to maintain our standards as far as possible and I don't think there was any problem.*

In most cases it was felt that too many African learners entering a school that was previously entirely white or Indian would have a deleterious effect on the academic performance of the white and Indian learners. For example, a teacher said:

> *The feeling among the staff was that we couldn't cope if we had, say, more than 50% Zulu speaking students in the class. We're an English speaking school. We educate in English. We don't have a problem with*

any child as long as that child can come to school and communicate in English, otherwise there will definitely be a drop in standards.

Some principals justified the focus on standards in the context of problems that the teachers had to deal with in coping with learners who came from disadvantaged backgrounds. They also viewed the decrease in standards as inevitable:

Yes, yes, I really think it creates a problem, not only for the school. It creates a problem for that pupil as well because they're coming into a completely different environment to what they're used to. Not only the environment but also the standard of teaching. For pupils coming over horizontally, by that I mean from standard 5 level to standard 6 level, or standard 8 to standard 9, that is creating a considerable problem. The pupil cannot adapt to the circumstances. He's got a complete backlog. The teachers are finding it very difficult to cope with the situation. We find that the standard of teaching in the class situation is dropping as well due to the fact that those pupils who can't cope, the teacher must drop their standard of language use to accommodate that pupil and that is really causing a problem.

Teachers often justified the need for entrance tests by alluding to the need to maintain standards:

In the beginning there were certain entrance examinations to test as far as language was concerned and for Maths and Science. We had to see if the black pupils could maintain the standard. It was important to interview the child and give these tests, not only for the standards of the school but for the child. I think it is important to test to see if they can cope and integrate, because I actually think it's not fair to take a child in and you know they are not going to make it and they're going to sit here and fail. The child suffers and the school suffers.

It was assumed that there would inevitably be other problems relating to behaviour and social interaction as well. This negative attitude, which may have influenced teachers' perceptions of learners' abilities, is reflected here:

Well, if you had to take facts and figures down - you look at the number of failures and so on. We understand the situation where a pupil has come from a disadvantaged community and obviously in the first two years he's going to battle to pass. So if you look at the results, the standard has dropped. And we've had a problem with the greater percentage with discipline and things like that. Not only do they perform badly in the class but the general behaviour is not up to standard.

However other teachers and principals stressed that it was not integration as such, that had led to a drop in standards, but other associated factors:

Standards have certainly not dropped as a result of integration. I think the problem is arising by virtue of larger classes. That's where teachers are becoming more and more frustrated and they're finding that the pressures and stresses are on them from that point of view. But from integration per se, no. However, aligned to integration is the fact that there are larger classes so they could go hand in hand from that point of view, yes. And by government cutting back on financing of schools and enforcing larger classes. Cutting back on teaching staff.

One principal stressed that there should be a change in attitude regarding standards:

There are new standards. The requirement to, say, pass examinations and so forth - that has changed - most definitely - over the last year it's changed. We are looking at children now in terms of ability and performance. If they have the ability to possibly, in the future, improve. Here again it's such a subjective kind of thing and previously we were governed by British norms and basically we came from a British school system. So we had a cut off point where if you didn't satisfy a certain number of marks you failed that subject and if you didn't satisfy a number of subjects in an examination. So if you look at it in those terms, obviously they have gone down. The so-called pure academic kind. But looking at things holistically, here again I suggest possibly a shot in the dark, where we don't know where it's going to lead, we really don't know. Initially we ought to think about going down a little bit. But somehow or the other our standards have to change.

Another even suggested that the racial integration of his school may have contributed to an increase in standards by the mere fact that it entailed more effort on the part of teachers:

But I would lay my head on a block that in this school, if anything, our standards have gone up. But I wouldn't say that they've gone up necessarily because of integration. They've gone up because, as a teaching force in this school, as a result of integration, we've had to sit down and think harder than we had to think before. Arising out of that hard thinking has been far better approaches to teaching. So you know, in an indirect way I would say that integration itself led to an improvement in standards. We have got a slightly wider range now, but I reckon our top children are getting as good if not better than they were. You know in the old days you could go through the motions. For many years you didn't have to think, although I'd like to think that I've never been that sort of person, but in general terms - you know for 10 years you do the same thing, you just repeat yourself for 10 years. They talk about 20 years experience. Is it 20 years or is it the same year repeated 20 times? And I think that was probably true of many people in the past. We've been forced - whether we liked it or not - we've been forced out of that by integration.

Among learners there was also some discrepancy in attitudes regarding the question of standards. There were learners across the racial groupings who felt that standards had or would drop because of integration. In fact, a number of African learners felt that standards would drop. This was especially the case with learners who had entered the schools fairly early in the process and now saw an influx of other African learners:

> *It's certain that the standard will drop because the pupils are from different schools. Some schools they didn't even learn - and the teachers must now adjust the standard to suit those pupils. The teachers must drop their standard to fit in with them and then the pupils who are already in the school are suffering.*

Another learner commented similarly on what would lead to a drop in standards:

> *Really, it would be having more pupils who have not been to white schools before, who know nothing about the background of what a white school is about. Then it would drop the standard, because the teachers have to accommodate them too because they've paid.*

On the other hand, just as many learners of different race groups felt that standards would not necessarily drop because of integration. One learner said:

> *The standard has not really dropped. It's just that we work a bit slower now because the teacher has to explain again or something. But other than that there are no problems.*

Some even felt that standards would improve in the long run:

> *I don't think there will be a drop in the standards at this school. My teacher always said he doesn't drop down to our standard, we go up to his standard. I think they will improve because all the students will have to try harder to keep up.*

Most white and Indian parents expressed some concern about dropping standards. A white parent expressed his concern thus:

> *The standard of education would drop if the school was 90% black. My kids must get a good standard of education. If I look at their homework and I see the standard is dropping - my wife is a teacher - she's soon going to determine whether the standard is dropping. I think, to be honest, the standard of education in general will drop for a while but then it will increase. Especially in our situation. We're in a senior primary phase. Once they come up from Junior Primary they're all right, because the moment they come in out of other schools where I can't say what type of education they've had - but there are a lot of comments that the rural black teachers only have one year of education, instead of plus four, plus five and a person with one year of education teaching somebody else - obviously it's different.*

4.12. Racism and Stereotyping in Integrating Schools

There have been few occurrences of openly racist incidents and racial harassment at integrating schools and those that did occur were limited mainly to the early stages of integration. The spirit of reconciliation in the new South Africa seems to have affected the level of openly racist behaviour. However, isolated incidents were still being reported. More significantly, subtle forms of racism and the expression of racist attitudes did not seem to have abated much, although there was often little outward expression of such attitudes and behaviour because of the changing social and political climate. Furthermore, many teachers and principals did not seem to be aware of such attitudes or practices or simply chose to ignore them because racism is such a difficult and sensitive issue. A degree of institutional racism was evident and the actions of individual educators and learners were not totally devoid of intentional racism, but much of it seemed to be unintentional and incidental. However, the effects are just as harmful and must be explored so that there can be some amelioration of conditions that favour some and disadvantage others.

There was disagreement among learners about the nature of integration at their schools, particularly where it related to issues of racism. Some of the learners maintained that they experienced little personal racial antagonism. Others disagreed strongly and felt that the schools played a significant role in perpetuating racist attitudes and practices. Learners commented on institutional structures and processes and the individual attitudes and actions of teachers, learners and administrators. An African learner at one school complained about racist treatment and the actions of teachers:

> *I think teachers discriminate against the black pupils. They treat the Indian pupils different. It's a matter of us and them. If anything bad happens they always say 'Now look what happened'. We are the first ones to be blamed.*

Some degree of racism appeared to exist in the interactions between learners but again this appeared to be subsiding if we are to consider the pronouncements of both teachers and learners. An African learner explained:

> *There are not so much problems now. When I first came to the school the Indian pupils treated me badly. Some called me names and others made me feel stupid. Many of the pupils did not want to sit next to us. Today things are better. Some black pupils get along with the Indians. They think highly of themselves and others can't take advantage.*

An African learner at an Afrikaans medium school described her experience at the school:

> *I felt it was a challenge. I had to learn to cope with them. Coming to this school, everybody - the first thing they said in Afrikaans - 'Wat is jou naam?' You know the accent - the Afrikaans accent - it's scary. The first time I walked in the door they were like - it was the first time*

they've seen somebody like me. Now it's easy to be with Afrikaans speaking pupils. They can be friendly, very friendly. A lot of them - I'd say 85% of the pupils accepted me. But some are still actually finding it hard to communicate with me. For that matter, some are horrible. In all schools you know. Like 'What is the kaf doing here?'- you know, those kind of things. They are learning to accept me and some didn't even find it hard to.

Many of the African learners who were interviewed lacked confidence and trust in their schools, which are perceived by them to be ignoring problems associated with racism. One learner gave this explanation for the school's inability to deal with their problems:

There's a lot of double standards in this school. What's good for one isn't good for another - that kind of thing. Various things - like it may be all right for someone to do something but someone else can't. Sort of - double standards on the administrative side. Its good for some and not good for others.

Another learner complained about the staff's attitude to their problems:

When we complain about not being treated right they feel we are demanding. They say we must change and not the school. If there are any fights and so on we just have to listen to the principal and forget about what happened. They don't try to find the real cause of the problem. Like sometimes the other pupils and some teachers are racist.

In terms of institutional practices there was a significant incidence of 'second-generation discrimination'. Particularly entrenched forms of this were the entrance and streaming procedures in most of the schools. As discussed previously (see the section on admission policies), most of these practices tended to discriminate against African learners, although they were presented as objective educational decisions by the schools involved.

As a result of pervasive residential segregation in our society, learners and teachers frequently have their first relatively intimate and extended interracial experiences in the schools that are experiencing integration. Hence, whether racial hostility and stereotyping grow or diminish may be critically influenced by the particular experiences learners have there. There is even the possibility that the school may exacerbate the very social tensions and hostilities that many hoped they would diminish.

Another feature of the process is that role-players have resorted to stereotyping and blaming the situation on the African learners themselves. As a result of the lack of empathy and interracial contact, not only has there been a tendency to stereotype African children, but there exists a contradictory array of stereotypes. For example, African learners were described as lazy/passive/withdrawn and also boisterous/aggressive/disruptive. They were seen as being more violent, responsible for the increase in fighting etc. and these tendencies were often put down to criminal behaviour on their part, as is apparent in the views expressed by this principal:

Some children have brought knives to school. We've had to talk them out of that. We've had a couple of gangs forming in the school. We've actually had to suspend a boy for being a gang leader, threatening young children, bullying, extorting money and stuff. He targeted Africans. Ja, it was his own group. We had another incident last year where a boy in standard six was targeting his own class, making them pay him money. It turned out that he was working as an agent of a club of a gang from, I think it was Umzinto, as well. You know he actually came on Friday at break to get the money from the boy. So it was rather dangerous.

Another problem in identifying racism and racial prejudice is that many administrators have denied its existence and side-stepped the issue by equating racial incidents and inter-racial conflict with ordinary anti-social behaviour, which may be experienced by anyone regardless of race, as was the case with this principal who, when asked if any racial incidents had occurred at the school, replied:

No. We've had no racial incidents and I mean that sincerely. People like to give something a racial connotation - where a white boy hits a black boy over the head with a duster - but I've been in education long enough to know that white boys hit white boys over the head with dusters too. We've had no racial incidents at all.

Another principal did acknowledge the occurrence of infrequent racial incidents:

We had an incident at the end of last year where a black boy and a white boy were having a fight but it started off, you know, as just young boys. They were pushing each other in the line and then it became racial slurs and then it was on the field pushing and shoving and everybody saying 'go, go, go'. We called them in and we counselled them and talked them right through it. And then it was all right. It was very confined, restricted just to those two pupils. We've had other incidents in class where children sort of shove at each other and swear at each other and one thing leads to another and eventually it becomes a racial thing.

In a number of cases blame was shifted to the African learners themselves. Principals adopted a defensive attitude and said that these learners tended to over-react with regard to the perceived incidence of racism:

You know some people are very sensitive. They think that because they're black they're being targeted, whereas very often they're not. It's just that the person whose hitting on them is quite indiscriminate. You know he can hit on anyone. So that also requires counselling, you know, for them to see that it's not a racial act.

An example of an exaggerated and cruel stereotype is clearly expressed in the following teacher's fears:

There have been lots of cultural differences in the sense that - I'm going to be very open - we as Indians don't talk about certain things up to a certain age level. When a child in standard one or two comes to school and they are using sexual language and sexual signs and you feel they are coming from an environment where these things are done very openly and they are communicating with our children and our children are learning those things, that is a disadvantage. They seem to be exposed to pornographic material and things like that. That aspect I don't really like. And then the blacks are more free sexually. When they are grown-up their association with the opposite sex is very free whereas with us, we have lots of reservations and our upbringing is very different.

There was evidence that, in many teachers' eyes, the causes of difficulties with African children lay principally in their 'disadvantaged' background, their home environment and the effects of the 'inferior' education they had received (particularly with regard to language). There was little reference to the possibility of any adverse factors either originating in, or being exacerbated by, the schools.

Many teachers anticipated problems based on their individual and group perceptions of the new learners. The new learners' general behaviour (which was different to what many teachers were accustomed to) and initial performance tended to confirm these initial assumptions about the abilities of the children who were entering the school. This may have had the effect of conditioning their attitude and response to these learners. In many cases, there was a tendency on the part of teachers to assume that all or most of these learners would perform similarly.

Although this study does not focus on the integration of Indian learners into white schools, many teachers displayed significantly different attitudes and perceptions towards Indian and African learners in the newly desegregating white schools (consider interviewer effects re: the interviewer being Indian). Many teachers and principals, intentionally and unintentionally, revealed that the stereotypes which they held of 'Indian' learners were more positive than those they held of African learners.

Regarding the question of racism, there needs to be an acknowledgement that it exists to varying degrees in the integrating schools. Schools have to develop and adopt policies to address these issues, no matter how controversial or painful they may be to confront. This need was emphasised by a learner:

If I could change anything? Well I would change their attitude. The majority are still very prejudiced. They still have views that your own people - blacks - are inferior and so on. I would let the pupils know that black people are not bad at all, because you find with the black community there is bad and good, with Afrikaans, English, Indians, there's bad and good, but with us they always look on the bad side. I would change that - that we're not bad at all.

4.13. Innovations/Adaptations found in Schools

Whether and how schools have adapted to accommodate the different cultural and other backgrounds of the learners now forming the learner population are crucial questions that were constantly focused on during the course of this study.

In most cases schools did very little on an organised or formal basis to address the changes brought about by integration. There was generally an attitude of 'business as usual'. Less successful efforts to integrate schools occurred in settings where nothing more was done than to place a mix of racial or ethnic groups within a school. In response to the query as to whether anything had been done to make it easier for African learners to integrate, a principal replied:

> *Nothing really. We got speakers in to talk about different cultures and respecting people from other cultures. We tried to involve the children as far as possible in sport. We tried to get them to become friends with children of other races.*

In some cases no adaptations were made because the teachers saw their primary responsibility as being towards the existing learners, even though the new learners invariably needed more attention. In this regard a teacher at a Port Shepstone school said:

> *You see we didn't really target that particular group of students because we have pupils of other groups in class. So it's difficult, you know, to isolate them and keep the rest of the kids - so we didn't really make any visual attempts to address their problems.*

Most innovations have been introduced sporadically rather than continuously, through outside pressure rather than generated from within, for expediency rather than from a sense of conviction. They were often introduced much later than desirable, superficially rather than at a fundamental level and for the benefit of certain individuals rather than to improve the educational performance of all. Attempts to address problems were often done on an *ad hoc* basis, with the view that just talking and showing understanding would be enough, as is clear from the following example:

> *I think we're doing an awful lot. Let me give you an example. We listen to our pupils. Last year a lot of girls started wearing these extensions or dreadlocks - whatever you want to call them. Some teachers complained, so the lady heads of department got together with those girls. I mean there were many rumours going round saying: 'It's bad' 'they don't wash their hair' 'there's lice there'. We got together with the girls. We talked to them. 'Why do you like wearing them?' 'What is the disadvantage?' 'What is the advantage?' And we worked round the problem and we found that it wasn't a cultural thing. That they like it. They can wash their hair regularly. So we talked about what sort of hairstyles were acceptable and what weren't and they agreed that they would wear hair bands and this sort of thing. So it could have been a potentially explosive situation but it wasn't.*

In contrast to the majority, some interviewees whose schools were confident about the future had decided to be proactive. While the superficial approach was the norm, in some schools, very creative and apparently effective techniques were used to integrate the new learners. One teacher emphasised the acceptance of the need to change thus:

> *Let me put it this way, there are certain school rules. At the beginning of this year they actually asked each class teacher to go through their register and find out from each pupil what rules, in fact, don't fit in with the way they usually do things and it changed some things. They've adapted and I think that is a very good starting point - where certain things which are unacceptable for white culture are completely acceptable to another culture. Rules have definitely changed because of different cultures that have come in. They've seen that you can't have a rigid set of rules where you do it this way and no other way.*

Incorporating African learners' culture and experiences into the curriculum, as some schools have done, adds a dimension of meaningfulness to the curriculum. These learners are more likely to engage in learning if they perceive that their interests and experiences form an integral part of the curriculum.

Successful efforts to integrate schools occurred where teachers organised teaching and learning in ways that encouraged classmates to become team-mates. Strategies such as co-operative learning were used to encourage learners to collaborate on a variety of educational tasks. The composition of these working teams was not left to chance; teachers organised groups carefully to ensure diversity in terms of race, gender and academic ability. Integration has also worked well in settings where educators have tried to make learners more responsible for solving disagreements, using such strategies as conflict management or conflict resolution.

In general though, there is an alarming absence of innovation, with schools continuing as if nothing had really changed. This is true both at school , regional and national levels. As one teacher said:

> *Most of our schools have done very little to ensure that proper integration is going to take place. You know there's a lot that can be done - far more than we have even thought about. We need the Education Department to have integration seminars or leadership seminars where we can get a cross-section of these kids involved out of school. They need to mix - maybe over the weekend or something - live together. Because they are now living in their own small shells, sort of. Maybe take them out into the bush or to some holiday cottage or somewhere where proper integration or proper interracial programmes can be planned, so that we can get to understand one another better.*

5. CONCLUSIONS

Circumstances and actions in the two years since the election of the government of national unity in April 1994 have paved the way for major changes in education. Much larger intakes of African learners into previously racially exclusive schools require educators to pay urgent attention to the academic, cultural and social aspects of the curriculum in a fully integrated, non-discriminatory educational system.

Society has tried to shift the burden of desegregation to schools and schools have tried to shift the burden of integration to the learners. While there is much that schools can do on their own, they do require support from the community and the educational authorities.

There has to be a change from the position of ignoring race as a consideration, to actively seeking ways to integrate schools in spite of segregated neighbourhoods. A change in attitude and practice is necessary within schools for true integration to be realised.

> *A diversified student population cannot be taught if the teachers have the attitude of 'business as usual'. Extraordinary planning and effort must be made to deal with the extraordinary circumstances and disparate experiences* (Willie & Bekker, 1973).

The critical factor is not the nature of the change but rather the adopter's concept of the changes he or she will have to make personally. With these changes, teachers and administrators are being asked to interact differently with one another and with the learners; hence the immediate emphasis must be on changing attitudes and then on changing practices or procedures.

Nevertheless, formal programmes can be developed at the level of the school to alter practices and procedures in order to facilitate change. However, any formal programme that is devised to facilitate integration must enable schools to develop methodologies, structures and curricula which will improve the attainment and chances of African learners now entering these schools. This will involve three main kinds of development which overlap and influence each other:

1. Curriculum development: the development of new subject matter, topics and materials and new practical classroom methods and approaches.
2. Staff development: the development of new perspectives, skills and expectations amongst teachers as individuals, groups, departments and the whole staff.
3. Organisational development: the development of new practices, procedures and customs and in relationships within the school and with the community (Richardson, 1992:134-135).

At most of the integrating schools, the traditional curriculum, with its middle-class, academic and 'western' oriented biases, has remained as a means of exclusion. Furthermore, it marks cultural and socio-economic difference as failure and rationalises

this as individual ability. The curriculum should be more school-based and syllabi should spell out processes of learning rather than a catalogue of content. Teachers must be involved in formulating a curriculum that is relevant to the specific needs of learners. Key curriculum elements should be choice, diversity (according to individual and community needs), relevance, learner interest and community involvement. The programming of curriculum content must be the responsibility of teachers and schools. This should be complemented by specialist departmental curriculum support, in-service training courses, resource centres and incentives for the development of innovative approaches that address the needs of diverse school learner populations.

In reality, there has to be a revolution in pedagogy, in the sense of transforming all learners' experience at school, in the way the curriculum works and, in the main, in school practice (Kalantzis et al, 1990).

A fair representation of all cultural groups should prevail in all activities sponsored by the school including sports, art, drama, celebrations etc. Activities should also be selected to reflect what is customary to all groups. Even the conduct of events should be adapted to reflect learners' customs. Trying to identify measures that might level the cultural playing fields can continue endlessly, but one, in particular, is critical. As long as cultural inequality, racial division and socio-political oppression exist outside the school, learner social relations inside the school will not improve.

In order to successfully engage learners in constructing curriculum, teachers have to develop a trusting relationship with them. This takes time. Planning how to incorporate learners' ideas and how to cover prescribed curriculum also takes time, but tailoring instruction to fit learners is worth the time and effort spent. For example, a curriculum that is relevant to learners' lives is likely to be more engaging than one created solely by the classroom teacher or a publishing company. An engaging curriculum fosters learner involvement and thus increases learners' opportunities to learn. Such a curriculum also gives learners, particularly those in the margins of the dominant culture, a sense of belonging. Finally, a jointly constructed curriculum promotes understanding of others' values and beliefs which ultimately moves us towards more productive relationships with one another.

Teachers and schools need to build on, rather than tear down, what learners bring to school. That is, they need to understand cultural, linguistic, and experiential differences, as well as differences in social class, and incorporate them into the learning process. It is too easy to fall back on deficit theories and continue the practice of blaming learners and their backgrounds. Instead, schools need to focus on where they can make a difference, namely, their own instructional policies and practices (Nieto, 1994).

School change demands staff development. Faculty and administrative staff need to be properly equipped to manage the school and to ensure justice for all groups. Teachers may need in-service education to help them learn how to infuse African culture into their teaching. A multicultural setting can, at times, be very delicate. Educators must be familiar with different cultures and have high expectations for all learners. Switching from a monocultural classroom to a multicultural classroom demands intensive staff development to remove ignorance as an obstacle to change.

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The demands made on teachers are high and will continue to increase if they are to work effectively in our multi-cultural and multilingual classrooms. The teachers' conventional training is unlikely to have prepared them for what is now expected of them. New skills are required of teachers in terms of language and teaching strategies. An additional challenge is that they need to develop skills to enable them to form links with parents who are quite different from the parents they have been accustomed to dealing with in the past. Teachers who are unable to relate to and understand parents from different social or cultural backgrounds can hardly be expected to create effective learning situations for the children from such backgrounds. Were teachers to develop the necessary skills, the results would certainly be beneficial for the teacher, the learner, the school, the education system and the community as a whole.

Policies relating to integration (and the accompanying racism) have revolved around three basic positions which have been limited or even largely inappropriate:

1. There is often an attempt to ignore or redefine the racial dimension of any incident or problem. The 'no problem here' attitude is predominant in the way schools respond to problems associated with integration.
2. Responses and policies (if any) emerge informally as an *ad hoc* response to individual incidents. There has been an absence of a whole-school policy or a coherent departmental response to problems around integration.
3. In many instances, some form of multicultural education has been championed as the strategy to solve problems relating to integration. Attempts seem to have been made to make African learners more acceptable to white and Indian learners.

Members of the different cultural groups should not have difficulty integrating, providing certain conditions are met. It is important that everyone should be equally recognised and valued. Attempts must be made to provide equal opportunities for all learners. Different groups must try to learn as much about one another as possible. Ignorance breeds fear and distrust; knowledge is a prerequisite to mutual acceptance and respect. The teacher of an integrated class must, therefore, maintain a sensitive balance between and among cultures. The degree to which any new culture is adopted should not be prescribed or required but must be adopted freely

To provide effective education for learners from other cultures, the former 'white' or 'Indian' monocultural schools must change many basic assumptions and practices. It is obvious that a learner who has been socialised in the culture practised at a particular school has a better chance of succeeding at that school than a learner who has not been socialised in that way. Encouraging learners to socialise beyond cultural lines is no easy task. If learners are to interact naturally across cultural lines at school, the total school environment, as well as societal life, must change. We cannot expect learners to develop respect, trust and understanding of one another if they have only been integrated academically.

Socialising across learner groups can be encouraged through activities that promote school spirit. Morning assemblies, pep rallies, competitions and sports can help achieve school-wide goals and, in turn, encourage camaraderie. Cross-race contact can be

further enhanced through extracurricular activities such as sports and clubs. While this aspect of school life is making a significant contribution to facilitating integration it can be used as a greater resource. Stereotyped notions still influence sporting interaction strongly. There is a need for more mixed teams in soccer, rugby and athletics and other sporting activities. Particular sports should not tend to become the domain of certain race groups, as appears to be happening at many schools. Such activities are often scheduled after school hours. In other schools teachers set aside one instructional period a week to allow learners to engage in a variety of extracurricular activities. All these programmes should be structured in such a way that they encourage maximum racial integration. Transport and other barriers that may limit the African learners' participation in such activities should be removed.

One indicator that schools are successful at encouraging socialising across learner groups is when learners continue their associations beyond the confines of the classroom. For instance, when they have unstructured time, such as lunch time, they choose to sit or to mingle with learners of other races with whom they have associated in classes. Perhaps a more important indicator of success, however, is whether learners choose to associate with one another outside of school hours. Camaraderie among different learners can be achieved outside the classroom through school-wide projects in the community involving educators, learners and parents. Charity drives and other community-service projects can give learners from diverse backgrounds a sense of belonging and togetherness. This is bound to build a better spirit and enhance integration within the school.

Children stand out when they are 'different' - when they are late for school, when they speak too loud because that is what they do at home, when they speak a different language or have a noticeable accent. Accordingly, this has an effect on integration in schools. Schools should not tackle these issues by attempting to homogenise learners. Difference and diversity must be recognised and given its due place within the school. In South Africa, integrated schools were launched at a time when racial and ethnic integration existed nowhere else in society. Segregation and all kinds of oppression were prevalent at all levels, socially, politically, economically, culturally and educationally. Under these conditions, one cannot blame the learners for grouping together in their own cultural groups. One cannot expect distrust, suspicion and hatred to be replaced instantly by trust and warm embraces.

Instead of being a white or Indian or African school, the school should just be a public school. All cultural groups should be represented fairly at all levels of the school community. No learners should feel overwhelmed, either inside or outside the classroom, by learners from another cultural group. Learners should be able to relate to the faculty and administrative staff and not see them as strangers. Rituals like assemblies should be adapted to reflect the practices of all cultural groups, or be abandoned altogether. Standards of learning, curricula, syllabi, textbooks, teaching methods (group work, discussions, etc.), aims and objectives, values and forms of evaluation should represent the different cultures at the school in dignified ways - ways that seek to build learners' self-confidence instead of demoralising them.

African learners attend ex-NED and ex-HoD schools for many reasons, but it is important to recognise that white and Indian South African learners do not attend so-

called 'black' schools. Due to exploitation and economic oppression, 'black' schools in particular, lack vital educational facilities, equipment and teachers. White and Indian learners and their families will not easily exchange their privileged position for the impoverished situation in which the majority of African learners still find themselves. School integration in South Africa is likely to be one-way for some time to come.

Society has a social contract to educate all youngsters, not simply those from a particular racial or ethnic group, or English speakers, or the economically privileged. Yet from this study, it appears that schools continue to fail some learners, especially those from racially and culturally dominated and economically oppressed backgrounds. These schools are continuing to operate on the basis that it is their function to adapt the disadvantaged learners to school systems that are intrinsically biased against them. Despite this, African learners still travel long distances from townships to attend these historically white and Indian schools, because of a lack of school facilities in black townships. This will be a reality until townships and suburbs are racially integrated and adequate schools are available everywhere.

The way in which this study has focused on racially integrating schools may be limited, but the fact remains that under-utilised facilities in ex-white and ex-Indian areas must be maximally exploited for the benefit of all. This must be done in the context of rethinking and taking more positive action on how the needs of a plural society can be effectively addressed. In effect, there has to be a major paradigm shift in education, not merely at a macro policy level but at the level of the school. Such a shift implicates every aspect of education, from its epistemological assumptions in the minutiae of the classroom, through to systems management structures.

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7. APPENDICES

7.1 Methodology

This research is based on an interest in the practices and processes involved in the evolution of schooling in South Africa from a racially segregated system to one which is, at least in part, experiencing some form of integration. The study paints a relatively vivid picture of how schools are changing with integration. It also focuses on the role played by learners, teachers, principals and parents and how they view these changes. The issues are complex and need to be considered from various perspectives. This necessitates a qualitative approach that blends multiple sources of data collection.

Desegregation of schooling in South Africa is often portrayed as the complete and radical reorganisation of our system of education. While these claims may be valid on a macro and national policy level the situation is less clear-cut when we focus on specific schools. In each province, the former departments are being integrated into a single, non-racial administrative structure but many schools are definitely not integrated. Even where desegregation may have been effected, true racial integration is still very much in process.

Furthermore, historically the process of desegregation has been varied and even contradictory. Other than the former white schools, which have attracted attention because of the controversy surrounding the implementation and continuation of the Model C system, other schools have been largely unaffected by desegregation. It is assumed that the majority of African schools have been totally untouched by the process of desegregation, due both to the demography (where their schools are situated) and the lack of demand from other race groups to attend the generally inferior African schools.

All this underscores the strategic necessity of a more focused study to gain some insight into the process of desegregation and subsequent integration. A study such as this would offer a deeper understanding of the constraints and possibilities that exist for meaningful change in our schools. Hence, the methodology involved the following aspects:

1. International and national literature survey of racial integration in schools.
2. Review of national, departmental and school documents relating to admission policies.
3. Interviews with the following stakeholders to gain an insight into their experiences and views of the desegregation/integration process:
    a) parents
    b) learners
    c) teachers and principals
4. Observation.

The Sample

a) Schools

Twenty six schools from the ex-HoD and ex-NED, located in different geographical areas of KwaZulu-Natal, were selected from the larger metropolitan areas (Durban and Pietermaritzburg) and from smaller towns in the province (Port Shepstone, Newcastle and Richards Bay). It should be noted that although there is some degree of integration in ex-HoR coloured schools, it was decided to limit this study to the schools falling under the control of the ex-NED and ex-HoD because the extent of integration in these schools is far greater.

The schools in the sample serve a range of learners and local communities from diverse ethnic and socio-economic class backgrounds. In addition, they vary in terms of language medium and gender composition. There are English only, Afrikaans only and parallel medium schools i.e. schools which offer instruction in both English and Afrikaans. The sample was made up of boys only, girls only and mixed schools.

b) Subjects

The principal of each school was interviewed, as well as two teachers and two learners, who were randomly selected. A stratified random sample was employed with race group and standard as the relevant strata. This was done to ensure that an equal proportion of African and white learners were selected in the ex-NED schools and African and Indian learners in the ex-HoD schools. In secondary schools, learners were selected from both junior and senior secondary phases, while primary school learners were taken only from the senior phase. Wherever possible, a parent was also interviewed. Since it was not possible to interview parents of different race groups in all the schools, African, Indian and white parents were covered across the 26 schools. In total, 26 principals, 52 teachers, 52 learners and 10 parents were interviewed.

The Sampling Design

The sampling design was determined by what was practically feasible and theoretically desirable. It involved numerous practical decisions of selection and organisation. Time constraints, the magnitude of the area of study and the scarcity of other wide-ranging studies in this area affected the research design.

The sample of schools was not random and cannot be said to be necessarily representative of all schools in KwaZulu-Natal that had desegregated up to that point. However, the study attempted to probe perceptions about the process of integration from the point of view of the different stakeholders over a wide area of KwaZulu-Natal. Schools were chosen to represent a variety of factors such as geographical spread, proportion of learners of different races, size and level of schools (i.e. primary

and secondary), co-educational and single sex schools, Afrikaans and English medium and parallel medium schools and ex-HoD and ex-NED schools.

The sampling frame used was a list of the secondary and primary schools in KwaZulu-Natal, provided by the relevant department. Fifteen secondary and eleven primary schools were selected from the two departments. Stratified sampling was used to ensure that there was an even distribution in terms of geographical and socio-economic areas. In addition, in the ex-NED schools further stratification was used to ensure that co-ed and single-sex schools, as well as English and Afrikaans medium schools, were represented. This was unnecessary with the ex-HoD, as all schools (with the exception of Durban Girls High) are co-educational English-medium schools.

Measures and Information Sources

To an extent, the study made use of multiple operationism to gather the relevant information on school integration. The complexity and wide scope of the subject under investigation made such an approach necessary. Furthermore, when the different methods were used together they served as mutual checks and complementary sources of information. Interviews and observation were the main data gathering techniques used. The interviews provided in-depth views regarding the on-going process of integration. There was also an analysis of school records regarding admissions and general organisation wherever access to these was possible.

a) Interviews

A combination of the standardised schedule interview and the non-standardised interview was used. In the standardised schedule interview, the same schedule with identical questions is administered to every respondent in the sample. In the non-standardised schedule interview, the particular phrasing of questions and their order is refined to fit each respondent (Denzin, 1970:125). The former was used to maintain a level of consistency while the latter could either enrich or contradict the data obtained using the other procedures. The non-standardised schedule interview involved the use of recursive questioning where what had already been said was used to define the next question. This approach was preferable to inflexible questioning techniques because the perceptions of each respondent differed inherently.

Open-ended and closed questions both formed part of the interview. The closed questions dealt mainly with biographical and demographic details while the open-ended questions, that were more broadly stated, allowed respondents to provide in-depth views regarding integration. It was necessary to be flexible with the interviews because of the sensitive nature of the issues. In the context of this study the situation was further exacerbated by the controversy surrounding the future of Model C schools. The information gained through interviews was supplemented and clarified through observation. The interviews were tape-recorded and the information systematically analysed.

b) Observation

General observations during the fieldwork were recorded. Observation focused on interaction among learners and between learners and teachers of different race groups. Such observation was not sustained or in-depth because of the limited amount of time spent at each school. The observations of respondents in interviews provided more information but much of this could not be verified.

c) School Records

Wherever possible, school records dealing with admissions and racial distribution of the school population were obtained and analysed. Actual records of school populations by race were not available, as the ex-NED schools claimed that they did not register learners according to race, class or creed. In the case of ex-HoD schools, the recording of school statistics by race was discontinued after 1992, so estimates had to be attempted. It was extremely difficult to obtain accurate estimates as many principals were reluctant to disclose the number of black (i.e. African, Indian and coloured) learners in the ex-NED schools and the number of African learners in the ex-HoD schools. They claimed that they saw this as a discriminatory or racist practice.

Procedure

a) Fieldwork

The main body of the fieldwork, interviewing and data gathering, was conducted from February to June of 1996. The principal of each school was contacted telephonically to obtain permission to gain access to the schools and to facilitate the research. The principal was given a general idea of the aims and nature of the study and a preliminary meeting was set up. Subsequently, a letter providing more precise details of the study and the actual procedures was sent to the schools. At the initial meeting an interview schedule was negotiated. Arrangements were also made for the selection of interviewees at each school. In addition, the principal was requested to assist in establishing contact with a parent to be interviewed for the study.

It was arranged that interviews would be conducted on an individual basis. The interviews with the learners, teachers and principals were completed during the course of a single day spent at each school. In some cases, interviews with parents were conducted on school premises. For the most part, however, they were conducted outside the school at a time and venue convenient to the parent. Interviews were recorded using a combination of note-taking and tape recording because certain respondents objected to being recorded on tape.

b) Analysis of Data

Although analysis forms part of the final stage of an inquiry, it flows through the entire process as formative impressions are sifted. Because of the

complexity of the process of integration, the lacuna that exists in this area and the range of schools involved, there was no precise point at which data collection ended and analysis began.

Burgess (1982:236) points out that while data 'does not speak for itself' a setting does provide material from which to build an analysis. The various school settings and the subjects who informed this study provided meaningful and interesting data on school integration. While they may not have been fully representative of the process in all state schools, they do provide a picture of what is happening on the ground. At the same time, the analysis not only describes the situation but can inform future policy.

An attempt was made to establish the proportion of different racial groups attending these desegregated schools. This involved an analysis of the actual enrolment figures or estimates wherever necessary. As this study concentrates on the process of integration, the primary focus had to be on qualitative analysis and description. The analysis of data involved the use of themes and issues or categories which arose during the interviews, as well as from a review of the history of school integration in South Africa. Some areas of focus were:

- rate and degree of integration;
- admission policies and entrance tests;
- attitudes of different players, i.e. learners, teachers, principals and parents;
- problems and benefits;
- patterns, similarities and differences in the process;
- approaches to integration, stereotyping and prejudices;
- factors limiting or facilitating integration.

Since the study involved a fairly detailed examination of some schools, a decision had to be made regarding case analysis or cross-case analysis. Again, because of the complexity of the phenomena under investigation, a combination of the two was used. These two strategies are not mutually exclusive and a study will often include both kinds of analysis. One has to begin somewhere, as trying to do both at the same time will lead to confusion (Patton, 1990:376). Each school was treated as a separate case study and then cross-case analysis was done by means of grouping together common questions or perspectives on central issues. At the same time, stark differences were identified.

Scope and Limitations of Research Procedures Used

Although this study focuses primarily on the desegregation and racial integration of state schools in KwaZulu-Natal, there are many similarities with the process throughout South Africa. A number of differences also exist, not only in different parts of the country but within KwaZulu-Natal itself, yet it is possible to determine certain patterns that may hold true for all schools involved in the process and to suggest broad

policy options for all schools with a view to enhancing the process of integration in South Africa as the wider integration of our society.

An analysis of the process of integration should focus on three levels: firstly, a macro analysis relating to regulations and government policy; secondly, the milieu of the school; and thirdly, the classroom level. The literature review (Naidoo, 1996) adequately covers the macro level of policy, while this study focuses on the milieu of the school. Another limitation of this study then, is that its scope does not allow it to focus on the individual classroom and the activities and interactions of a specific group of children with a single teacher. Perhaps future case studies will address this omission.

Another limitation of this study is that the sample was selectively stratified to include specific types of schools. This resulted in a greater concentration of schools being chosen from the larger metropolitan areas of Durban and Pietermaritzburg. It was only possible to focus on schools from one town from the North coast, the South coast and inland respectively. It is vital that similar research be carried out in other parts of the province, as well as in the rest of the country, in this relatively new area of research in South Africa.

While the interviews and questionnaires complemented each other, the use of the questionnaire was quite restricted. The limited number of learners and teachers who were administered the questionnaire was unavoidable due to certain logistic constraints. This was partly overcome by conducting in-depth follow-up interviews where the subjects' detailed perceptions were obtained. Furthermore, close comparisons of different subjects' perceptions of the same situations were made.

Although the interviews did provide in-depth and richly textured responses to, and descriptions of, a complex process, the interview process was also limited. While it was possible to interview most of the learners, teachers and principals, the desired number of parents could not be reached. Also, particularly in the case of the learners and the researcher, the racial difference sometimes acted as a restrictive element. In some cases, the researcher being 'Indian' may have affected the answers given to specific questions.

In spite of the limitations, the study, especially in terms of its broad frame of reference, fulfilled the major aims as outlined.

7.2 Profile of Schools Investigated

SCHOOL	EX-DEPT	SEC/ PRIM	AREA	LANG MED	SEX	STUD POP	% AFR*
1. Arboretum	NED	P	R. Bay	P	M	1000	10
2. Athlone	NED	P	Amanz	E	M	420	15
3. Brettonwood	NED	S	Umb.	E	M	900	60
4. Durban High	NED	S	Durb	E	B	1200	10
5. Ferrum Hoer	NED	S	Newc	P	M	800	15
6. Ganges	HoD	S	Durb	E	M	1200	60
7. Gelofte Hoer	NED	S	Ptwn	A	M	1100	<1
8. Glenmore	NED	P	Durb	E	M	500	20
9. Millview	HoD	P	Phoe	E	M	860	52
10. Jai Hind	HoD	P	P.Sh	E	M	850	15
11. LincolnHeights	HoD	S	Newc	E	M	1100	45
12. Linpark	NED	S	Pmb	E	M	950	?
13. Newcastle Sen	NED	P	Newc	P	M	450	10
14. Northlands	HoD	P	Pmb	E	M	600	25
15. Overport SRS	HoD	P	Durb	E	M	900	50
16. Penzance	NED	P	Durb	E	M	400	5
17. P. Shepstone H	NED	S	P. Sh.	E	M	1200	40
18. P. Shepstone S	HoD	S	P.Sh.	E	M	800	50
19. Reservoir Hills	HoD	S	Durb	E	M	1000	20
20. Richards Bay S	HoD	S	R. Bay	E	M	700	30
21. Richardsbaai	NED	S	R. Bay	A	M	1000	<1
22. Silverheights	HoD	S	Pmb.	E	M	1000	60
23. Southlands	HoD	S	Durb	E	M	1000	25
24. Suid Natal	NED	P	P.Sh.	A	M	630	<1
25. Suriaville	HoD	P	Newc	E	M	500	30
26.Westville Girls	NED	S	Durb	E	G	700	5

* In most cases the percentage of African pupils at the school is a general estimate. In the case of Linpark High an estimate was refused. The principal claimed that the school was non-racial and that they did not view learners in terms of colour. The school subsequently withdrew from participation in the study.